/283 cont./

634 occasions we were able to ascertain the discipline of the popula-
[439] tion. Several days after our arrival, having evaluated the im-
[345] portance of our provisions, he gave the order to work for a whole day making objects for exchange; and from dawn to night the baitemannanage° was a veritable workshop, where all the men of the tribe applied themselves without stopping to the most ingenious
[226] tasks. A little later Tušawa gave the order to fish. The whole village left the next morning in 30 canoes, leaving us alone with the women and children in the deserted houses.

[221] His powers were quite wide. It was he who presided over the economic life of the tribe, whether in deciding each year on the lands to clear and begin cultivating and the kinds of crops, or ordering the hunts, the fishing expeditions, and the various manufactures. He also ordered, contingently, the change of site
[361] of the village. Kejara has been on its present site for only a few
[731] years; the village previously was about two kilometers downstream. The purpose of the emigration had been to flee from the smallpox, and Tušawa was again already thinking about a new move, for the disease was recommencing its ravages.

[796] /284/ In addition the chief decided the festivals, had them
[533] postponed when his state of health demanded it, and took an active part in them: a good part of the ceremonial devolved on him, and many of the choruses had him as leader /given in English/ or soloist. All the objects, ornaments, or instruments used in the dances or religious ceremonies belonged to him, although outside their use they were disseminated in the houses of the different players. At least he was the only one who had them at his dis-
[123] posal. We always had to deal with him personally to buy ritual
[126] objects, even when we had discovered them in the back of a distant house. No present would have persuaded the owner to take over the negotiations from him (1).

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1. Certain ritual objects, besides, can only be made by the chief. One of these

/284 cont./

634 463 ● 301 [239] [435] is the large crown of throat feathers (krug'úga) which the leader /given in English/ wears in the ceremonial dances. The double difficulty of obtaining these feathers on one hand and the ritual of making them on the other explains why such accessories have a considerable value for the natives.

634 847 Finally, infanticides enter the province of the chief; he suffocates the undesirable newborn babies by closing the nose and mouth with his hand.

634 571 123 Although we were always sent to him for the acquisition of objects of collective use, Tušawa rarely concluded the transaction on his own authority. Long conferences took place, where the clan chiefs and his friends and trustworthy men conferred. He had, in fact, the habit of surrounding himself with counselors who often filled no political office but who had great influence on him. Most often it was through their mediation—they had been made known to us very early—that we requested the necessary authorizations for pursuing our work from him. Several hours later Tušawa would drop in, sit down beside us, remain silent, [431] and then smile at us mysteriously and demand a gift. The agreement was made.

634 Tušawa communicated personally with his subjects even less than with us. He saw them little, having moved his house to the right bank of the river, where he lived alone with his two wives and where he had his cultivated plots. Except when his presence was necessary for ceremonies he only spent a couple of hours in the village. He would then go to the hut of the O Čera [122] clan (8) /see Fig. 15. p. 6/, over which he seemed to have property rights, so that at least he had put it at our disposal, and we shared it with an old widow and the hostile household of a [203] "bari." It was there—or even better in the men's house—that he met with the men he trusted and communicated his decisions to them.

/291 cont./

411 The wood of specimen D is bare, and the clan marking is
531 formed by notches cut in the arrow feathers. This process is
614 rather rarely used.

[239] B is adorned with a plait of black thread and porcupine quills, decorated with red feathers and tufts of red and white quill feathers. This formula is repeated in most of the objects of the Bakoro and Bóro clan, who doubtless got it after the disappearance /292/ /Figure 18 appears here/ /293/ /Figure 19 appears here/ /294/ of the Bădejebage Bokodori, and today use it in preference to its own formula (H) (see Note II /p. 41/.

I and L constitute two variants of the Ārŏre colors (red and black). Such variations are extremely frequent. Each individual interprets his clan's formula in his own way.

531 The colors blue and yellow (A), separate or together,
614 generally characterize the Paiwe clan. But the mark of this clan seems to lie less in the use of certain colors than in a certain process of distribution of the colors in alternating bands of equal or different lengths. Thus, a feather-covered fishbone
[301] pendant of the Paiwe clan presents the following distribution
[239] (short bands in small letters, long bands in CAPITALS):

BLUE-red-blue-red-blue-red-BL. -y.-b.-y.-b.-y.-B.-y.-b.-y.-b.-y.-B.-r.-b.-r.-B.

[534] The same decorative process is found on a Paiwe ceremonial trumpet with alternating colors red, blue, black, and white.

291 Ornaments. The Bororo of the male sex live completely nude, with the exception of various ornaments and a penis band
[283] (bá). This indispensable accessory is made of a ribbon of palm-tree fiber, about 50 cm. long, first folded back on itself for 10 cm., and then tied twice in such a way as to form a conical loop open at its end. This loop covers the end of the penis, and the foreskin, pulled outside through the terminal opening, forms a bulging part and holds the whole (Pl. VII, C /see p. 45/). Once the double loop has been made, a piece of ribbon remains free, from eight to 16 cm. long; this piece is cut level with the loop in the bá for everyday wear. In contrast, on ceremonial

[Text continues on p. 33]

/294 cont./ In contrast, on ceremonial
292 days the men make and wear special bands, in which the end is
531 cut off, painted, and embellished with appliqué of down or
614 feathers, in such a way as to form a kind of small, rigid banner distinctive of the owner's clan (Pl. VII, D /see p. 45/). We have reproduced 18 specimens in Fig. 20 /see p. 35/:

A. without a mark
B. unidentified
C. Čiba Čera
D. unidentified
E. Kõge Čera
F. Paiwe kujagoreõ
G. Bãdejeba bo'pokẹjwo
H. Paiwe čoreõ
I. (Bokodori) or (Ewåguddu) Baiaddadaω
J. Ãróre čẹbegeωõ
K. Ãróre
L. Ki
M. Ewåguddu čãbõgeωõ
N. Bakoro
O. Bóro Čera
P. Ąpibore
Q. Ewåguddu
R. unidentified

[386] /295/ They are painted in red and black (urucũ seeds crushed in fish fat, and resin, kid'doguru), with appliqué of white down.

Specimen L represents one of the eponyms of the Ki clan, the puma.

G perhaps evokes the form of the crocodile, the eponym of the Bãdejebage.

182 There are hardly any objects which do not thus express, each in its own way, the owner's social position. This is the case with
• 301 the labial pendant, three types of which exist: the rigid pendant,
614 needle-shaped, made of bone, hardened resin, and—since the
[439] natives are able to procure old cartridges—beaten copper, seems the privilege of a single clan (1); another make, of wood covered

1. All the copper specimens that we got belonged to various parts of the Paiwe clan.

with feathers, a plait, or shell fragments, and terminated at the lower end with a bunch of feathers, indicates the clan by the color or nature of the ornamentation; finally, a last type is constituted by a string of small fragments of mother-of-pearl or

/295 cont./

301 bone. The shape of these fragments—square, ovoid, round,
614 pisciform, etc.—their size and number, reveal the origin.
[292] Plate X, C /see p. 48/ shows a Čiba Čera native in festival costume, with the nasal ornament, an exclusive privilege of the Bokodori-Čiba-Kõge, and the labial pendant of his clan.

[237] The clan mark on the large pendants made up of the claws of the big armadillo is constituted by the color of the central cotton fringe and by the number and shape of the fragments of mother-of-pearl incrusted in the resin casing.

301 Feather diadems bear their mark (analogous to that of arrows)
237 on a wood lath placed in the middle of the feathers (Pl. X, C).
614 The crowns are distinguished by color and material (thus the Paiwe wear a band of black monkey fur with yellow feathers, the Bakoro, red feathers on a plaited mounting of porcupine quills, the Bokodori, yellow and red feathers, etc...). These colors are
[534] repeated in the feather chignons, the ceremonial trumpets (ika and po°ri), the various body and head ornaments, and the flutes often covered with feathers (black and white among the Ki); the diadems of ounce claws are distinguishable by their size and the closeness or distance between the prongs.

Crafts

616 One important privilege, not of a clan but of a phratry,
[534] resides in the exclusive right of the Čera to make the "bull-roarers
[973] /given in English/" (Pl. X, D); the term /296/ /Figure 20 ap-
[302] pears here/ /297/ "ait'e" designates at the same time this instrument, a fabulous animal living at the bottom of rivers, and perhaps a kind of face-painting. In one of these two latter forms
614 the ait'e makes up a part of the patrimony of the Áróre, who
562 are Tugare. This privilege then can only appertain to them "through the women." In our list of households in Kejara, we have not mentioned the name, sometimes used in our presence, to

[text continues on p. 36]

Plate VII

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A

[301]

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C

D

/See captions on next page./

1:Lévi-Strauss--45a E-5 (1936) 1936 SP8 Bororo SP8

Plate VII

Bororo Indians.

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A. Male type.
B. A couple.
C. Penis band, everyday type.
D. Ceremonial penis band.

Plate X

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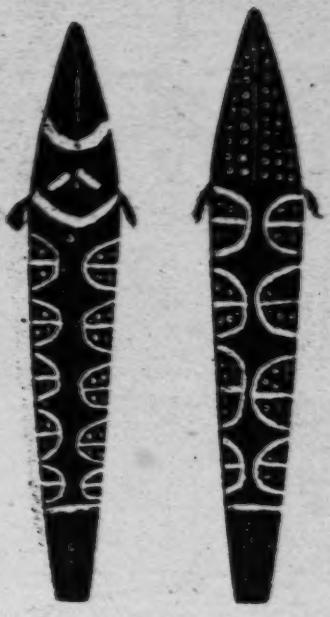
C



D

/See captions on next page./

1:Lévi-Strauss--48a E-5 (1936) 1936 SP8 Bororo SP8

Plate X

Social Organization of the Bororo Indians.

A. Two Bororo women in festival costumes.
B. The marid'do coming out.
C. "Čiba Čera" Indian in festival costume.
D. Bull-roarer of the "Bóro Čera" clan (two sides shown). Length: 106 cm.

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2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

only the Caboclas

lack this characteristic structure, and even they have as its functional equivalent an enclosed space taboo to women and children.

Among the *Eastern Bororo* the northern and southern halves of the village circle are associated each with one of the moieties and their constituent clans. At Kejara a second principle of dual division appears: besides the axis that separates the northern from the southern moiety there is another perpendicular to the Vermelho River, creating an Upstream and a Downstream half. Here tradition alleges the pristine existence of several concentric house circles, with residences of the same clan behind one another.

The family house type, though always palm-thatched, differs according to the time of year. During the dry season it is of conical shape and erected with a central pole or tree against which other poles lean. In the frame put up for the rainy season, a crossbeam supporting other poles rests on two forked sticks (pls. 88, *bottom;* 84); generally this hut rises directly from the ground, but occasionally it is put on piles. The erection of the residence is a man's duty.

The women within a house belong to the same clan, each family having its own fire, so that every newly married girl acquires a separate fireplace. The furniture includes mats to sit and sleep on, for even outdoors these Indians avoid resting on the bare ground, over which they spread palm leaves or the branches of a tree. However, there are also platform beds rising about 12 to 16 inches (30 to 40 cm.) above the ground and covered with a layer of palm-leaf stems. Mats or skins serve as blankets. Hammocks are unknown.

A hut contains pots, spits for roasting, rocks for breaking hard seeds, spindles, and bivalve shells used as spoons and scissors. A mother will put her baby in the central concavity of a mat suspended by four cords from opposite sides, a fifth enabling the woman to rock her infant while she is attending to her chores. In some huts a stage 2 feet 6 inches to 3 feet 6 inches (0.8 to 1 m.) in height serves for roasting fish.

How far the *Western Bororo* mode of settlement conformed to the pattern described is not clear. Koslowsky (1895 b) merely speaks of a Bolivian aldea of some 20 huts with palm-thatched walls and roofs and a mat for the entrance.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

Children go naked. When initiated, a youth acquires a penis sheath, being thus qualified to witness the masquerades customary at funerals. On festive occasions, a decorative pennant is attached to the sheath. Men generally wear a girdle with shell disks, also a necklace of cotton thread, a bone pin in the lower lip, and ear ornaments. The hair is cut horizontally in front (pls. 90, *bottom;* 91); combs are made of bamboo rods held together by cotton plaitwork with designs. Body hair is plucked from the beard, the eyebrows, the pubic region, and the armpits. Women wear a gray perineal band,

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

or a black equivalent during menstruation; it is attached either to a girdle or to a tight-fitting bark corset. Woman wear a gray parinel band.

Except for the exclusively masculine feather head ornaments, labrets, and nose ornaments (pls. 90, *top;* 94), the sexes use the same type of decoration. It is customary for men to manufacture necklaces and ear ornaments as a wedding gift for their brides.

Urucú provides red body paint and wards off insects, but on the São Lourenço River, it is used in moderation. The *Bororo* spread viscous rosin over their bodies, to which they then stick bird feathers, thus sometimes covering all of their arms. This is largely a curative measure against sores rather than a purely decorative device.

The men employ head ornaments to a considerable extent (pls. 92, *left;* 93). There are semicircular fans of arara feathers worn above the forehead; small fans of flexible feathers tied to the forehead so as partly to obscure the vision; and still other arrangements.

Koslowsky (1895 b) ascribes to all his *Western Bororo* the practice of wearing amulets composed of the tooth of a wild canid or a feline species.

TRANSPORTATION

Canoes were quite unknown in the west and in the São Lourenço River region, though on the Vermelho River they occur in recent times. Both sexes are adept at swimming. Men swam across rivers, holding aloft their bows, to which the arrows were tied horizontally, and simultaneously carried their game on their chests, fastened below their arms. Women swam with their burden-baskets full of nuts and roots, tying these receptacles in fours to wooden sticks and guiding them by ropes. On land they carried the baskets on their backs by a bast sling that merged into a tumpline in front.

MANUFACTURES

The men work mainly in their club house.

Spinning and plaiting.—In the family home, men merely pluck from the women's heads the hair subsequently to be made into cordage, and plait cotton bands for feminine arm, wrist, and ankle decorations. They spin both cotton and human hair on a shaft with a shell or clay disk 1½ to 2 inches (3.8 to 5 cm.) in diameter for a whorl. Holding the flock of cotton or several hairs with the left hand attached to the uppermost quarter of the spindle, i. e., the part above the whorl, they roll the longer section of the shaft on the right thigh. The thread thus formed above the whorl is ultimately wrapped around the long section of the shaft. Palm fiber is twisted on the thigh by hand. Often the big toe helps in making thread. Hair threads are plaited into cords worn round the hair of the head or body, but also into wrist-guards. True weaving does not occur (fig. 51, *a*, *b*).

2: Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

643 [477] [847] Brazilian influence. He owns ceremonial regalia and is privileged to suffocate undesirable newborn infants.

301 856 428 433 Individual differences in wealth occur mainly with reference to highly prized feminine ornaments, which are inherited matrilineally. It is noteworthy that a Kejara adept at manufacturing grindstones for the community was thereby freed from the necessity of engaging in direct activities for subsistence.

436 437 Arrows were the major standard of value. They were presented to a jaguar-killer or to the kinsmen of one's mistresses and bartered against cotton or tobacco.

516 224 425 Etiquette.—No man roasted his own kill, but was expected to pass it on to another. Corresponding procedures obtained for valuable furs and teeth. The skin and teeth of a jaguar went to the nearest relatives of the most recently deceased member of the tribe, the slayer receiving as his reward a decorative bow and arara feathers.

784 224 [562] [778] Some regulations naturally fall under the category of taboos and ritual prescriptions. Before a hunt a *Western Bororo* was continent for 4 days, and painted his face with urucú. Women were not allowed to touch arrowheads. In the distribution of important game and fish it was essential for the bari to consecrate the animals, whereupon he might appropriate the choicest pieces.

827 Sneezing is connected with distant members of one's family.

WARFARE

411 804 237 War arrows were of seriba-palm wood and had a bamboo tip which broke in the victim's body (fig. 53, *g*). A club sword, a little over 3 feet (1 m.) in length, of heavy aroeira wood and lanceolate form, was suspended by a cord from the left shoulder. The spines of mero and tamu fish, attached to bracelets or to the fingers, made effective knuckle-dusters.

648 The *Cayapó* were the chief enemies of the *Eastern Bororo*, and *Guaná* and *Guaycurú* of the *Western Bororo*.

LIFE CYCLE

846 785 [264] Childbirth.—At a São Lourenço child's birth the parents fast for 2 days, taking only a little warm water on the third, lest father and child fall ill. In the Rio das Garças group abstention from food, drink, and smoking lasts from 3 to 5 or even 10 days, the object of the taboo being to make the infant able to bear hunger. The mother does not touch meat for several months. Parents here must not put their hands on their hair during this period—an indirect suggestion of a scratching stick—lest their hair turn white. [826]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

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PLATE 55.—Bororo village of Kejara. *Top:* Man's club in foreground. *Bottom:* Women in native dress.
(Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss.)

[P.432-C]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

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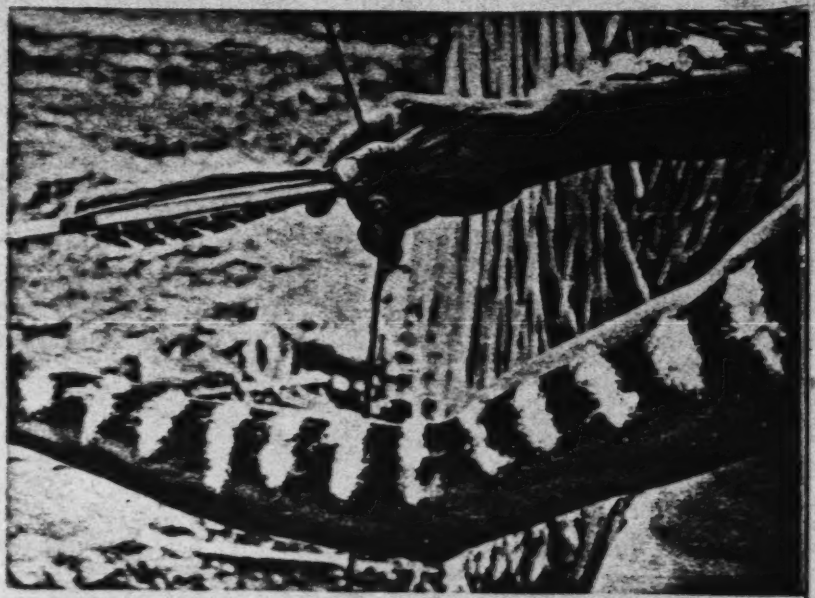

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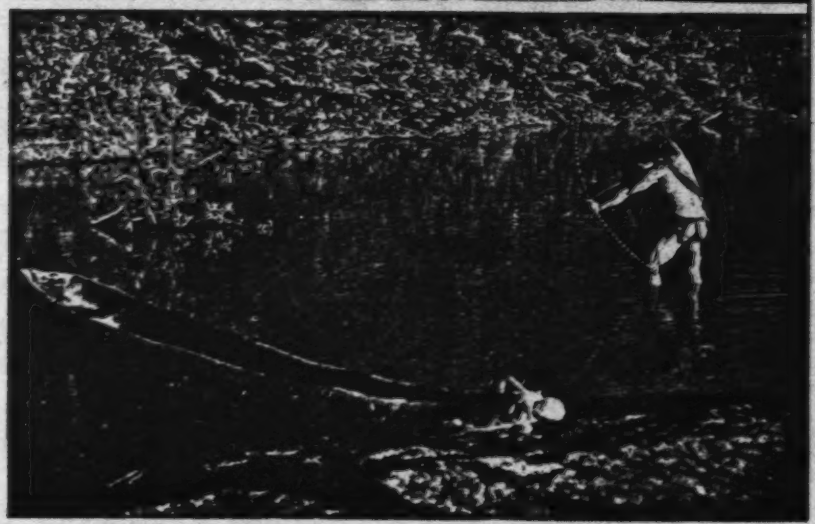

PLATE 88.—Bororo archery. *Top:* Arrow release. At village of Kejara. (Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss.) *Bottom:* Rio Lemoingo, Bororo shooting fish. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)

[P.432-D]

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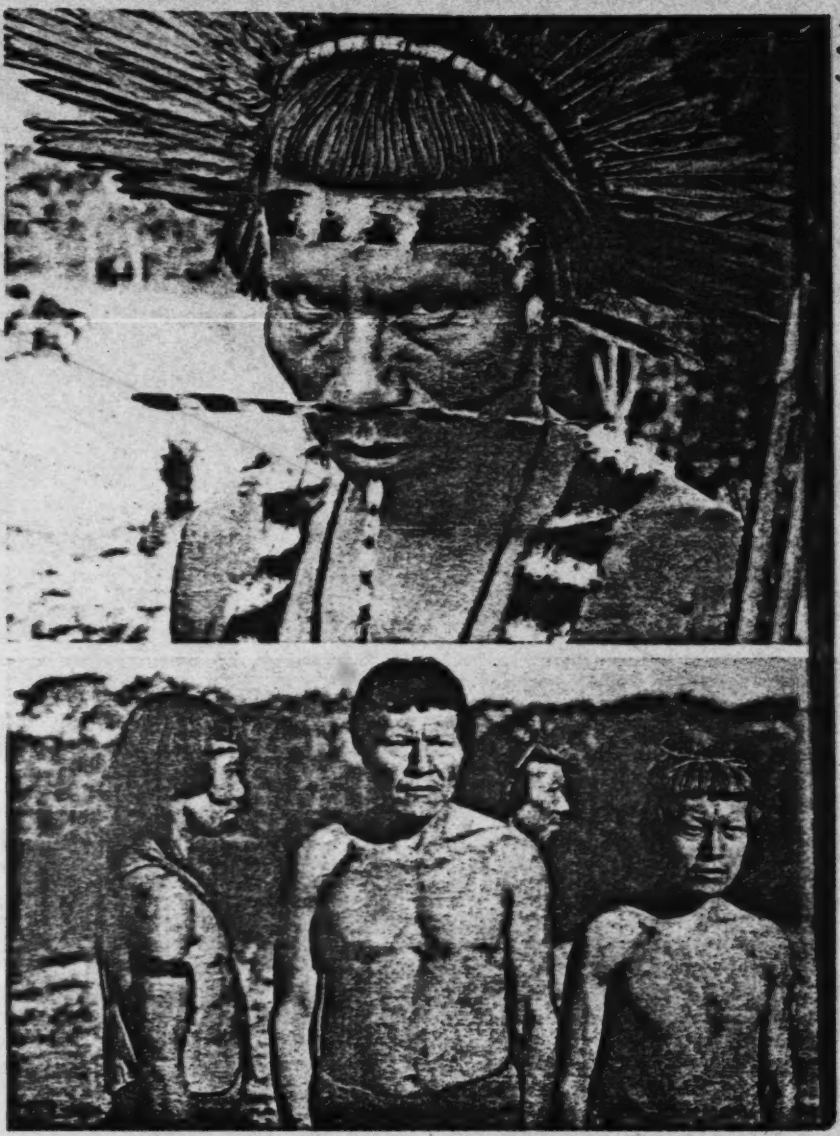

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PLATE 98.—Bororo Indian types. *Top:* Man in festival dress, with feathers through nasal septum and ears and beads through lower lip. Village of Kejara. (Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss.) *Above:* Sio Lourenço men. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)

[P. 432 -H]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

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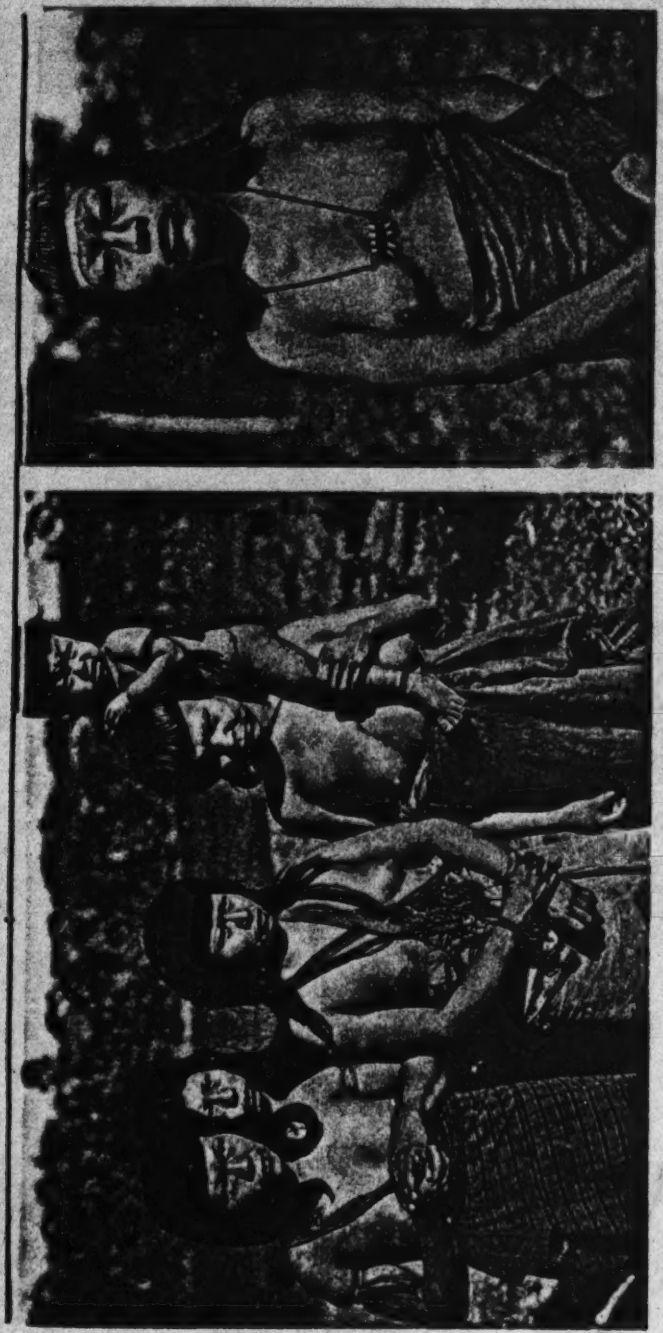

[P. 432 - I]

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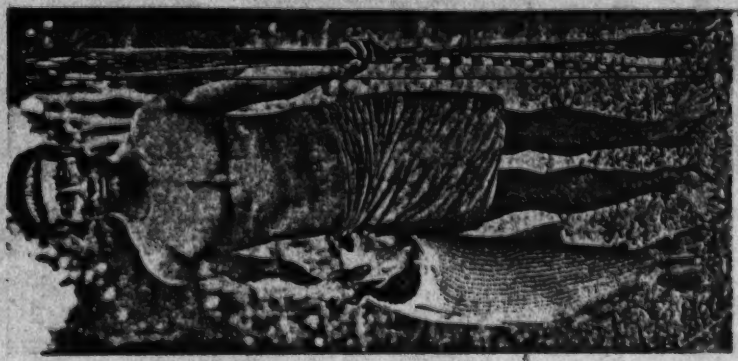

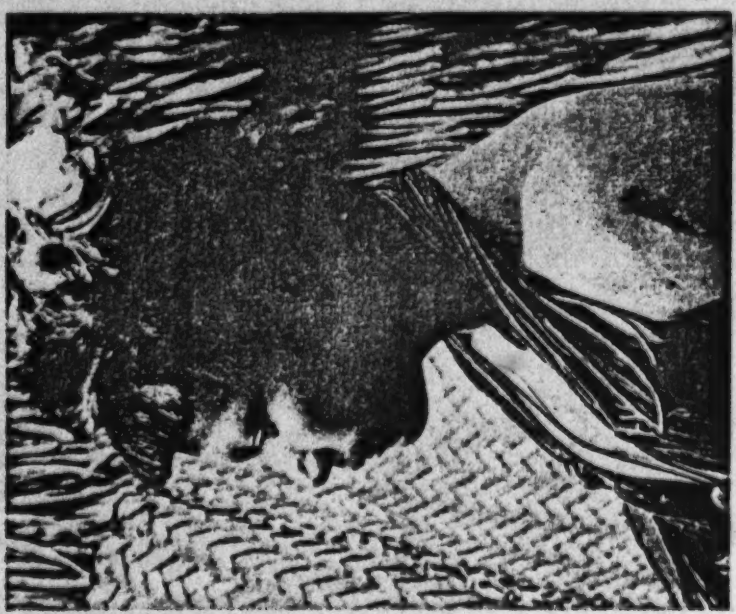

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[P. 432-J]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

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PLATE 91.—Portrait of young Bororo man. São Lourenço. (Courtesy David M. Newell.)

[P.432-L*]

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8

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[p.108]

[Plate VII]

FIGURE 1. SÃO LOURENÇO BORORO WITH FACIAL PAINTING

FIGURE 2. SÃO LOURENÇO BORORO GIRL

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[P. 111]

[Plate VIII]

FIGURE 1. SÃO LOURENÇO BORORO GIRL.

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FIGURE 2. SÃO LOURENÇO BORORO WITH A FLOWER LABRET

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932

SP8 Bororo SP8

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8
MATO GROSSO SP1

string patterns, similar to the decoration found on the surface potsherds already described.

M
B
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Unit H

This was located about one and one-half metres away from G, and at the same level. It consisted of a well-preserved adult skeleton of large proportions, lying on its right side, the knees drawn up to a sitting posture, the lower legs flexed on the thighs. The skull could not be located. No pottery or any kind of ornaments were associated with it; but it did present a new feature in that at its back was found a cache of piranha jaws and teeth. The body lay in an east to west line.

Unit I

A number of burials were uncovered about a metre away from H and to its right. They conformed to the general type. Four pottery bowls, badly damaged, covered skeletons, one of which occupied an extended position on its back. The other skeletons were so damaged and so mixed that little information could be gotten. There was total absence of any ornaments, but the shells described above were also associated with this group. The bone material was that of children.

In addition to the above finds there were recovered from accidental excavations nearby a skull minus the lower mandible and a skull cap. They have not been studied as yet.

* * * *

Lacking any geological data on which to base an estimate of its antiquity, it is significant that no artefacts of European origin were found in the excavation.

Though most of the skeletal remains were those of children, it cannot be inferred that the site is a child cemetery, when it is remembered that infant mortality is especially high among primitive peoples.

The method of burial for children seems to have been a simple interment protected by pottery. Ornaments such as the children wore were placed with the bodies.

Of these ornaments, the perforated shell discs are still very common among the tribes of the upper Xingu which were visited later, but were not found either among the Bororo da Campanha or the Bororo of the

B
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[text continues on p. 115]

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8
Mato Grosso SP1

São Lorenço valley. The mussel shell beads and the cylindrical jasper kind are not to be found among the Bororo or those groups mentioned above.

The method of burial of the Bororo is radically different from what was revealed in this excavation, leaving no doubt that the cemetery must antedate the occupation of the territory by these people.

The piranha is associated in magico-religious concepts of the tribes of the Kuluene-Kuluene region. Its jaws and teeth find practical application by all of the aborigines, being used as scrapers, or cutters. The cache of piranha jaws and teeth thus becomes meaningful.

The body was not buried always in the same position. The site revealed that it was placed sometimes on the side, and sometimes on the back, with the legs flexed at various degrees.

All of the burials were unquestionably primary, judging from the articulating position of the bones. No marks of any kind were found on the skeletal material.

The pottery is of poor quality, being of coarse clay and badly fired. The decoration that was found on several potsherds and on one small pot was impressed string pattern. The pottery ware is different from that made by the Bororo.

The lithic industry is too poorly represented to permit any conclusions. What was found is polished, and badly made. Its scarcity suggests that it was not a major industry in the culture represented. However, the stone, if not the artefacts, must have been imported from the highlands of the west or the north, since there is no stone in the region.

CEMETERY II

(Plate VIII, 1, 2)

About five miles to the west of Cemetery I, and the port of Descavallos, is located Cemetery II, part of an extensive archaeological site whose limits have not been determined. The land is slightly elevated from the rest of the pantanal, so that during the floods it forms an island, but at the height of the dry season it remains partly surrounded by a large lagoon which is connected with the Paraguay only by marshes. When the water is high it can be reached by canoe from the Paraguay. It constitutes an ideal location for a native village, in that it is situated in the pantanal where game is plentiful, it is close to the river, though hidden

553 Sometime after the birth of the child, when the first layer of skin he was born with has peeled off and his umbilical cord is dried up, his "brothers" decide that it is time to choose the man who will give him a name. They first ask the most distinguished among them to be the namegiver. If he refuses, they ask the one who is next to him in public esteem, and so on, until someone accepts the task. A man may refuse to give a name if he had previously given a name to a child who subsequently died. He is now afraid that if he should give a name to this child, it too might die. Once found, a namegiver will choose, with the help of his "brothers," several names from the stock of clanic names.[1] The names must be chosen from those that belonged [761] to people already dead. If a living person's name were to be given, that person, according to belief, would soon die. The namegiver and his brothers try to recall the name of a man who had a long life, or one of a successful hunter, or of a good speaker, or of a knowledgeable chief who knew many songs and stories. They choose these names in the hope that the child will follow the example of his distinguished an- [533] cestors. After they have decided upon the names to be given, [302] they go to the village plaza and sing. The child's father [301] (his mother's husband) adorns and paints the namegiver and

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[1] I recognize that "clanic" is not an accepted English word, but I will use it in order to distinguish between clan names--the names of the clans--and clanic names--personal and/or lineage names belonging to a particular clan.

gives him the paraphernalia of Bakororo, the cultural hero who first introduced the custom of namegiving among the Bororo and who now presides over the world of the spirits in the West. When the namegiver is ready, he approaches the child dancing and playing the ika.[1]

In the evening the namegiver makes a speech in the village plaza explaining what is going to happen throughout the night. He also orders the child's father's brothers to paint the child and to adorn him with white down. Then he asks the child's mother to bring the baby boy; he invokes Bakororo to play ika, pana, poari[2] for the boy to make him handsome and strong. Then they sing, starting with the songs of the child's clan and continuing with those of the other clans, until the dawn of the next day. During the singing, the women pass the child from one to the other so that each of them holds the child on her lap for some time. At dawn the father's brothers paint and adorn the child while his mother and mother's mother cry. The namegiver again represents Bakororo and plays the ika. He approaches the child, held on the lap of the child's father's brother and pierces his lower lip with a special instrument (baraqara).

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[1] The ika, a kind of trumpet, is the special instrument of Bakororo.

[2] The pana, a wind instrument made from a double calabash and blown mainly for rhythm, is the special instrument of Itubore; the poari, a kind of pipe with a reed vibrator and a gourd resonator, is the special instrument of the dead.

[553] Then he raises the child high and says the name of the father (the child's mother's husband), that of the mother, and the [533] names chosen for the child. The ceremony is concluded with [301] more songs. The namegiver is required to make ornaments for [431] the child as compensation (mori) for piercing his lip. While all ornaments are prepared, the child's father must send gifts in food and tobacco to the namegiver.

[607] Here, too, we see both families involved in the ceremony—the father's brothers in adorning the child and in holding him at the crucial point and the mother's brothers in actually performing the ceremony. The names of both mother and father are announced to the community. Also significant is the appeal to Bakororo to attend the ceremony and his representation in the course of it. [723] Bakororo, who established the cultural and social order of the Bororo and who invented many ornaments and started many customs, must be present at the moment when a child becomes a member of the society.

[593] In the Bororo view the naming ceremony establishes an equivalence between child and namegiver similar to that existing between mother and child. The Bororo are unshakeable in affirming that the two relationships are completely parallel. The women state, "My child is a small me" (itonaregedu, imi rogu rugadu). And my informant, speaking about a man and his namegiver, said, "He [the namereceiver] is he [the namegiver] himself" (ema nure ema rugadu). They both are the same." It is difficult at first to grasp the logic of

881 Paru, in compliance with the wishes of Manuel Cruz, who was
[563] at that time mayor of Lageado (called Guiratinga today).
Manuel Cruz had promised to supply the Bororo with rice and
881 meat in return for a performance. The elders of the village
held a council to recall and to reconstruct just how the
rite should be performed. I will illustrate here only some
important features of the ceremony. As a boy grows up, the
father becomes increasingly anxious to get him out of the
[826] house. The Bororo say the penis of the boy is grown, and
father and son are now ashamed of each other. The father
tells the male members of the child's lineage that it is
time to give a penis sheath to the child. The brothers of
the boy discuss among themselves who would be the most qual-
ified initiator, or, as the Bororo say, "where they are go-
ing to throw the child." One of the requisites in the choice
of the initiator is his ability to make ornaments so that he
can make gifts for the boy. After the choice has been made,
the initiation ceremonies will be delayed until somebody
[764] dies in the village. The imposition of the ba, penis sheath,
291 must coincide with the last three days of funeral ceremonies,
which last over a month. The two ceremonies are interlaced.
[773] Once again the cultural hero Bakororo should be present, for
he invented the ba. This time he is represented by a man
from the lineage of Bakorokudu, who will start the imposi-
tion of the penis sheath and then let the initiator complete
[533] it. The ceremony is preceded and accompanied by songs. The
301 boy is painted and adorned with white down and other orna-
302
776

ments, and for the first time he will see Aije, the spirits representing mythical animals who will maltreat him (the Bororo designate as Aije the bull-roarers and the men who whirl them). After the ceremony the boy will leave his maternal home and move into the men's house, or at least sleep there.

It is the duty of the boy's father to prepare the penis sheaths. He gives them to the boy's older brother, who in turn gives them to the initiator. The initiator then divides them among his own brothers, who paint them with different red motifs, some geometrical and some in shapes of animals, in the hope that the boy will become a good hunter. After the imposition of the penis sheath, the initiator makes ornaments for the boy. Simpler ones are made by his brothers. The boy's mother and the initiator's wife occasionally exchange food. The initiator takes the food he receives into the men's house and shares it with his (the initiator's) brothers. Before the ceremony it is the duty of the initiator's sisters to remove from the boy's face all hair, including eyelashes and eyebrows. We see that all these tasks are not restricted to the initiator but extended to his lineage: the boy acquires a special relationship not only with one man, but with the whole lineage. This fact is reflected in the change of terms of address. After the imposition of the ba the boy will not address the members of his initiator's lineage as "fathers" and "grandmothers," as he did before, but as iyorubodare. And since this term is

614 796 ers of the Bokodori Echerae, owns all okoge kurireuge (big okoge). Kaigu gives the representation of one okoge eimejera (one chief of okoge) to Tadugo, a lineage of the Black Ivagududoge; the representation of the other okoge eimejera is given to Butore Agadu, a lineage of the Red Ivagududoge; the representation of okoge aredu (female okoge) is given to Koge Enogwa Tabowu. The lineage of Koge Enogwa Tabowu, as we know, was alternately classified as belonging to the subclans of the Black, the Red, and the "in the middle" Ivadududoge. The younger brothers Bokodori Echerae own the rest of okoge, all okoge kugurireuge (small okoge), and give their representation to all less important lineages of the Ivagududoge.

614 301 [561] Differences between the subclans of older and younger brothers are also expressed through the medium of ornaments. The Bororo love to talk about ornaments, and examples of subclan differences are numerous. I will mention only few of them.

The Ivagududoge own a labret called ararureu. It is a string of regularly cut pieces of shell. The ararureu of the Black Ivagududoge is long and is made with large pieces of shell, while the ararureu of the Red Ivagududoge is short and the pieces of shell are small.

The festive bow of the Apiborege, called ikuye ika, is ornamented with painted rings made of leaves of babassu palm. The rings on the bow of the Big Apiborege are broad and widely spaced, the rings on the bow of the Small Apiborege

614 are narrow and close to each other. The festive bow of the
301 Ivagududoge, Jakomea ika, is similarly ornamented with suc-
[561] cessive rings of red and yellow feathers. Again the broad rings on the bow distinguish the Black Ivagududoge from their younger brothers, whose bow has narrower rings. Thus, the length of ornaments or the spacing of designs on objects is another feature which distinguishes subclans.

614 The festive bows of many clans are ornamented with long
237 colored feathers. If all the feathers are red, the bow be-
411 longs to the subclan of older brothers; if red and yellow
822 feathers are mixed, the bow belongs to the subclan of younger
[561] brothers. This is the case with Aturua ika, Meriri ika, Pai ika, and Kudora ika of the Paiwoe, Ariqao ika of the Ivagu-
614 dudoge, etc. The same division of colors is characteristic
822 of other ornamental objects. If the colors used are black
301 and red, the objects painted black belong to the more important subclan, those painted red to the less important one. Head ornaments made of cut pieces of snails attached to a cotton band belong to the Aroroe. The band of the Big Aroroe is painted black, that of the Small Aroroe is red.

614 The color red is sometimes the prerogative of Black
822 subclans and sometimes of Red subclans, depending on which other color it stands in opposition to. Compared to black, red is less important; compared to yellow, it is more important. Colors used in the Bororo ornaments are hierarchically ordered from black to white:

822 stripe. The same distinction is made between the crown of
614 the Black Aroroe and that of the Red, except that in this
237 case the stripes are red instead of yellow. In addition, the Black Aroroe have added to their crown a horn made of a long cormorant feather, which is missing from the crown of their younger brothers.

614 It has been mentioned before that the Bororo do not like to talk about Bakorokudu (Badajeba Chebegiwu) and Akaruyo Bokodori (Badajeba Chobugiwu) in terms of the older-younger brother relationship because of the differential value that it would put on the activities they command. On the other hand, in many contexts these activities <u>are</u> differently valued, and additional data show that the two brothers are
614 not equal. First of all, they received their prerogatives
773 and their chiefly status from Baitogogo (Black Aroroe) and Boroge (Black Apiborege). Of the two, Baitogogo is clearly defined as the older in many myths and stories. Most of
[301] the time only the deeds of Baitogogo are reported. He was
[304] the one who taught the Bororo to perforate their lips, their ears, and their noses so that they could insert ornaments.
[291] He taught them how to cover their nakedness with the penis sheath in the initiation ceremony, and he ordered them to live in peace. He was the first chief, and all important cultural acts were done first by him. At the end of any story relating his greatness, the Bororo usually add that Boroge did just the same (<u>Boroge rore ino jamedu</u>). Baitogogo was also the first Bakororo, and Boroge the first Itubore.

723 These items, however, are not all of what Baitogogo (Black
616 Aroroe) and Bakorokudu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge) exchanged.
571 The list of the items that Baitogogo gave to Bakorokudu is much longer, and I cite it as an illustration of the variety of items that could be exchanged:

301 Bakororo and his paraphernalia:
539
293 imo ke (an ornament resembling a huge racket,
237 which is worn during the Ke ceremony)
uku ika (a musical instrument)
304 pariko (a headdress made of macaw feathers)
302 baragara (an animal bone which is used to perforate
292 the lower lip of a male child in the naming ceremony)
okwadawu "meriri bokodaga" (one kind of labret)
biyadawu "chuqui biri" (earrings made out of a bird breast)
enotadawu "kuruqugwa o burugo" (a nose ornament made of two hawk feathers)

Bakugumae eimejera and his paraphernalia:
imo irogodu (body painting)
imo toro (a skirt made of palm leaves that is worn during ceremonies)
imo pariko (a headdress)

Aroe are not bound to any particular time of day, but all the ceremonies are performed during the day. Even in the middle of the jungle the Bororo like to think about themselves as being in the center of the village. The village is their center of orientation, the center of the social universe, with clans and lineages around it in their determined places. Wherever he may be, a Bororo always sees himself as if he were on the plaza. He carries it within himself. In the jungle, too, he will point directions in reference to this social arrangement: this is in the direction of Itubore; this is in the direction of Paiwoe Chobugiwuge, this is in the direction of Paiwoe Chebegiwuge, and so on. Every human being is the center of the village, the center of the world.

2. Human vs. animal; asexual vs. sexual

The first village was arigao bororo, the dogs' village. It was cleared for the dogs; then, according to another myth, the Ivagududoge saw it and enlarged it because it was too small for all the clans that came there, one after another. Dogs and Bororo are blended together. The Ivagududoge barked, and in this way they attracted other dogs (clans) to come. The first "human" village was Echera Bororo. The Badajebage, who first saw Echera Bororo, are not mixed with animals; they are human beings.

The distinction between human and animal, and assexuality and sexuality, is one of the basic distinctions between Aroe and Bope. Aroe have human shapes and are covered with colorful ornaments and feathers. Aroe live in an

asexual world: there are no female Aroe, and consequently maleness is not an essential attribute of Aroe. Bope, in contrast, takes the shape of a big snake or that of a hairy man with bushy beard. He has a wife. There cannot be such a thing as asexual nature. In an effort to be less animal-like the Bororo carefully pluck all their body hair.

3. Named vs. unnamed

Echera Bororo was the first village with a name. The expression arigao bororo, the dogs' village, simply says that the dogs were there, but the village itself was nameless. Arigao bororo is a generic designation, not a proper name. Any Bororo village is called bororo or arigao bororo. Naming is considered by the Bororo as one of the most important cultural acts. Only when named do things become part of the human universe.

Bororo myths and stories report numerous examples of naming, the act of which is always performed by cultural heroes. Baitogogo was the most important cultural hero and later became Bakororo, the chief of one of the villages of the dead. He not only dressed the Bororo and organized the society but also gave names to all the animals, fish, and plants. The first Aroe were Bokodori Echerae and a Tugarege man, Tadugo (Ivagududoge). The Bokodori Echerae made the first ornaments (necklaces) and gave them their names. Tadugo took his children, the legendary twins Bakororodoge, for a walk to teach them the names of things. The twins themselves killed different man-eating animals and gave

773 them their names. The learning of names continues even when
82 people pass away and become Aroe. Relatives who have died
[775] previously show the newly deceased around the land of Aroe and teach them the names of the different places.

4. Organization vs. creation; liquid food vs. meat; lack of cannibalism vs. cannibalism

825 The red macaw that named the village Echera Bororo and
775 macaws in general are Aroe par excellence. The most impor-
[237] tant material for ornaments are macaws' feathers, and the
[301] ornaments are used in the ceremonies in which the Bororo themselves are Aroe. The macaws are "dressed" in multicolored ornaments (feathers). Transformed into macaws, the dead people, Aroe, return to visit their relatives and friends.

773 The first spirits, the Bokodori Echerae, lived in a hut made
775 of macaws' feathers and called Chibae e yari "nest of the
825 red macaws." They spent their time making ornaments, and when they decided to abandon this life, they threw themselves into the fire and became different species of macaws.

82 Naming things, wearing the penis sheath, and making
775 and wearing ornaments are all cultural activities. Aroe are
773 the organizers of the cultural order. Baitogogo and Boroge,
[614] who later became Bakororo and Itubore, the chiefs of the vil-
614 lages of Aroe, organized the Bororo society into moieties,
[613] clans, subclans and lineages, and established yorubodare relationships among them. The legendary twins Bakororoge, who are also called Bakororo and Itubore, killed aroe echeba (the harpy eagle), kuruqugwa (a kind of hawk), buyogoe (piranhas),

553 Mugureu" (the two most important Bororo songs of the funeral
533 cycle) over his body, but they will not choose his repre-
764 sentative or make a poari in his memory, and he will be buried in earth rather than in water.

881 All the important cultural components which have been
301 seen in naming are also present in initiation: ornaments,
533 songs, Bakororo with the ika, the crying of the mother, and
539 a new name. But there are some differences and many impor-
162 tant additions. This time a relationship is established with
553 a clan of the opposite moiety. The child becomes part of
616 the larger human society, not just of his own family. Fur-
562 thermore, he is leaving the company of the women and becoming
764 a man. An initiation can only be held when there is a funeral ceremony. When the flesh of the dead person for
881 whom the funeral ceremony is being held has decomposed, the
616 child's brothers start to discuss whom to choose as his
571 yorubodare; when the belongings of the deceased are burned, the boy is officially given to his yorubodare; when marenaruye (dirges) are sung, the sheath is put on the boy's penis. The society is at the same time bidding farewell to one of its members and welcoming another. Also, the boy is entering the important system of exchange of ceremonies and food. Several times during the ceremonies the boy's lineage and that
881 of his yorubodare exchange food. He has grown up and his
834 penis should be covered. The dress invented by Bakororo dis-
561 tinguishes men from boys, and humans from animals. The first
825 penis sheath is black, a sign of maturity. Mature women, when
822

/116 cont./

000 previously in these missions.

161 The total number of the Bororo who live east of the Rio
162 Paraguay does not reach 1,000, to the extent that it was possible for me to verify.

142 The Bororo are tall and athletic Indians; the men are at times, taller than 1.75 meters. Since the climate and the water on the Mato Grosso plateau are the best in the world,
261 the state of health is good. It is true that the Bororo, at times, damage it by their passionate geophagy. The earthen walls of the mission buildings in Meruri were crumbled in many places despite being renovated three times a year. Whoever found himself near these walls, be it man, woman, or child, would take a piece and eat it with pleasure.

177 It seems that the manner of nourishment imported by our
178 civilization does not have a favorable effect either. Whereas in former times even the elders still had all their teeth, today
164 many young men and women have already lost a large part
262 of their set. The Bororo point out as the cause of this the
[827] fact that in the old days they would take the drinks and foods lukewarm, whereas now they take them /117/ almost always very hot; and at times also the water is very cold. I was not able to verify the effect of our salt on the Bororo. In any case they have known it a brief time.

291 Although these Indians wear the clothing that the missions
177 furnish them, the men often still wear, under the trousers,
797 the penis cover made of oanassú /babassu/, and the women, under the skirt, the traditional garb of bark.

304 Many adults and also children still have the decorated
177 pendants in the pierced lower lip and in the ear lobe. But those who still have the hole in the nasal septum, in which the clan of the Akario Bokodori Baaddageba puts its insignia
301 of arara feathers, are few. Head ornaments are still frequently worn by the men. Many adults and children wear pretty and narrow ribbons on the arms and cords on the chest and abdomen.
302 Painting the face is also still appreciated.

/117 cont./

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301

Each clan has its special ornaments. The Bororo Mario Bokodori Kudde, in Sangradouro, described to me, for example, the ornaments illustrated by Padre Colbacchini in his book I Bororos Orientali, pp. 48 and 49, as belonging to the following clans: 1 -- akarjo bokodori baaddageba; 2 -- bokodori, okogue, tchibae etcherae and manna; 3 -- bokodori, okogue, tchibae etcherae and vie; 5 -- bokodori, okogue, tchibae etcherae tchebegiugue; 6 -- kie; 7 -- bakorokuddu baaddageba; 1' -- paiwe kujaguréugue; 2 -- apiburegue; 3' -- aorore kujaguréugue; 4' -- iwaguddudogue kujaguréugue; 6' -- aorore tchoréugue. Each one of these ornaments belongs to the following clans designated by the numbers above:

/118/

Colbacchini, p. 48:

7 1 1
6 3 5 2 1
1
1 1 1 1 7 1 6' 2' 4' 6'

Colbacchini, p. 49:

6 6 6 6
2 6
2 2 2 1
7 6 7 7 1 2 2 7
1' 7 7
3' and 6'
1 and 7

/152 cont./
562 she who commands."

121 562 If we want to investigate the importance of the adornment in the situation of the sexes, we have to ask first when does it serve for proclaiming the adorned individual to the other sex or to his own, and when for showing him superior to the other sex or to his own. But before trying to obtain an answer to such questions, it is necessary to distinguish the adornment conditioned by the society from the adornment originated by the individual.

• 301 Among the Bororo we can designate as "social adornment" the decorating with the peculiar ornaments of the different clans and with the ornament of plumes connected with [237] religio-collective purposes. The large crown of arara feathers, called pariko, the chest ornament which consists of claws of the tatú canastra /armadillo/, and all the various kinds of lip pendants belong to the male sex. [304] The ear lobes, however, are pierced for both sexes, for the [856] purpose of adorning them, that is, as Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 474) mentions, among the lads by the father, as soon as they are eight to ten years of age and begin seriously to prove their skill as a hunter, and among the girls (K. von den Steinen, o.c., p. 501), as we have already seen, as a kind of a signal of a marriage promise by the future husband (4).

4. Let us present here the metal earrings. Colbacchini (I Bororos Orientali, p. 100) describes a man with this earring in his ear. The Bororo assured me that certain clans wore and wear this ear ornament made of shells, but /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ others made theirs out of a metal which the tribe formerly possessed. They say that this metal

/152 cont./ They say that this metal was gold, news not very hard to accept because the Bororo occupied regions in which gold appears frequently even to-day. Nowadays, the earrings reproduced here in natural size are made of the metal from cartridges. They are called meriri-kiga-réu and are made firm by means of an annular brass wire in the

301
[135]
[306]

[613]

FIG. 1

FIG. 2

FIG. 3

/152 cont./

• 301 hole pierced in both ear lobes, so that the individual wears a pair of these earrings. The one represented in Figure 1, which has a tooth above and one below, is peculiar to the clan of the Aroia; it was worn by Mario Bokodori Kudde, pictured in Plate 21, even though this man does not belong to said clan. /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ But he had killed an ounce and had given the cadaver to the Aroia, delivering with this, a recently deceased member of that clan from being [431] incarnated in this beast. He then received, as it is the custom in such a case, gifts of honor from the Aroia, especially the bow splendidly decorated with plumes, and permission to make and to wear "without fear and shame" all the ornaments with which their clan distinguishes itself from the others. One can obtain this permission from any clan as soon as a dead ounce is handed over to it, delivering in this way one of their dead from incarnation in this feline. I still wish to observe that the wife of Mario Bokodori Kudde (Plates 19 and 20) was an Aroia and, therefore, owned earrings like those which the [178] husband wore. The same man told me that in the past these earrings were worn the opposite way, that is with the points turned upward.

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301
613

/152 cont./

• 301 The earring without a tooth, represented in Figure 2, belongs to the clan of the Paĭ-we; the one with a tooth, in Figure 3, is from the clan of the Dyakome(r)-koadda.

[237] It is probable that the shape of these earrings might have been taken from the chest ornament made with the claws of the tatú canastra /armadillo/ (Priodontes giganteus) called bokodori inoge (bokodori: tatú canastra; inoge: claw), and represented various times by Colbacchini (I Bororos Orientali, p. 50) and by Karl von den Steinen (o.c.).

[306] I saw a Bororo in Sangradouro also make a chest ornament in the shape and with the size of the bokodori inoge, but out of a sheet of tin plate.
I was not able to find out whether this shape has any connection with the moon.

/153/ We may consider as "individual adorning" among the Bororo the use of transverse cords on the chest and of the narrow woven ribbons on the arms. Both sexes, /154/ adults and children, are in the habit of wearing them occasionally in order to, as I was assured, be protected from illnesses.

[562] [751]

[237] [751] [562] It seems that the chest ornament made out of animals' teeth serves for the same purpose. Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 479) wrote about this ornament: "Only very rarely does it happen that women also receive these ornaments, which probably results from the change by the colonization, because it is said that among the other Bororo it is common

/154 cont./

301 562 for only the men to adorn themselves." -- I saw this decoration on the woman and children as well as on the men.

/155/ Also, neither among the Bororo nor among other Indian tribes, is it "common" that only the men adorn themselves. Precisely Karl von den Steinen relates (o.c., pp. 476 and 502) that the young girls in the men's house are painted and decorated with the greatest care. [237] And Colbacchini (o.c., p. 15) says: "Men and women decorate the head with plumes and feathers." -- It is true that these cases are examples of "individual adornment" [834] [593] and not of "social adornment." Among the majority of the Indian tribes we found one pair of lovers who reciprocally adorned each other, especially by means of painting; one also notices that the parents adorn the children of both [171] sexes. Among the Tapirapé, the equality in the "individual adornment" goes to the point that man and woman, for many couples, alternately wear the same bead necklaces on the neck.

But the adorning of the Indian woman is not, always and everywhere, limited to "individual adornment." In many tribes, the young girl, at the end of the first [171] menstruation, is solemnly adorned. Among the Tapirapé, after menstruation the women renew the body painting [613] typical of the female sex. Among the Bororo, the woman wear earrings which have value as clan badges. All this is "social adornment."

Considering the adornment of the Bororo as a unit, we confirm that the major part of the "social adornment" falls to the man, while both sexes dedicate themselves in equal proportions to "individual adornment." It seems, however, that the question as to when the /156/ adornment of these Indians serves to proclaim the adorned individual to the

/156 cont./

301 562 other sex or to his own or shows him superior to the other sex or to his own can only be answered in facing this or that particular case. Thus, this answer has only individual-psychological value, and not general value, concerning the significance of the adornment for the position of the sexes.

562 201 Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 497) writes that among the Indians "it is proper for the woman to cry and 'to tremble' always, when animals, enemies, or merely cataracts threaten, and always to need protection."

I confirmed in my experiences that this is true in general; and when it is observed that the woman, in anger and in fear, utters sharp cries or moans, while the man almost always tries in any case to preserve a more tranquil dignity, we are inclined to see in this behavior a superiority of the man. And even if the cause for the woman's behavior is only her intention "to win by means of weakness" in the relations between the sexes, that seems to us an indication of social inferiority.

000 In the majority of the native tribes the men even want the women to show fear, and certain dances are performed for this purpose. According to Wilhelm Koppers (Unter Feuerlandindianern /Among Fuegian Indians/, Stuttgart, 1924), the Indians in Tierra del Fuego narrate that in ancient times they were completely dominated by the woman, because the latter had joined together in secret leagues and performed rites thanks to which they kept the men in /157/ permanent fear. But one day the men discovered this stratagem and then did the same with the woman; and since that time the latter have been intimidated [171] by means of practices of sorcery and dances. In the dances of the Inãpẽsẽ of the Chamacoco in the Chaco (Baldus, Indianerstudien, p. 94), what the men want, by means of their mysterious and frightening tricks, is to protest against the power of the women.

/158 cont./

764 [462] [252] As Tiago Aipobureu told me, there exists even today the custom that the women prepare the food for the funeral feasts, which is taken by the lads to the men's house, completely closed, and consumed there by those present. According to the tribal tradition, the dead one also participates in this banquet. But the sincere Tiago Aipobureu added: "The women know, however, what really happens there, although they pretend not to know. There are always men who tell them everything."

796 562 273 Both sexes of the Bororo take part in the majority of the songs and dances; it is true, however, that on these occations the female sex always has a secondary role. According to Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 491), men and women get drunk without distinction, with the wine obtained from the ácurí palm.

562 765 171 602 302 /159/ The position of the sexes is also evident on the occasion of death. As among almost all the tribes of eastern South America, among the Bororo too the closer relatives of the dead man of woman, especially the widower or widow, cut the hair.

765 [307] The following passages of the account by Karl von den Steinen are characteristic of the behavior of a widower (o.c., p. 505).: "Coqueiro in his hut, made cuts on his arms and legs, which became covered with scabs of coagulated blood; and in the afternoon there took place the solemn destruction of the goods of the dead woman, said better, the goods of her family, which had lived in the same hut as she. -- After this (o.c., p. 508): "Coqueiro arrived with a child by the hand. He sat down silently at the side, [301] he sobbed and wept. He did not have any adornment besides the black rope around his body, which he had spun and interwoven out of his wife's hair. His cheeks were wet with tears; he pressed his eyes as if the weeping were painful." -- And finally (o.c., p. 510): "Coqueiro [431] remained with nothing. The friends made bow and arrows, presenting them to him."

18. Eastern Bororo: mother admiring her son (Sangradouro)

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19. Eastern Bororo: Mario Bokodori Kudde, one of the bravest hunters of ounces; Alaysa Aroia Chereudda, girl 17 years old, of lively and critical spirit, who knows how to read and write perfectly; and the son of the married couple (Sangradouro)

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20. Eastern Bororo: Alaysa Aroia Chereudda with her son (Sangradouro)

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21. Eastern Bororo: Mario Bokodori Kudde with the metal earring of the clan of the Aroia in his ear lobe (Sangradouro)

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22. Eastern Bororo: Another appearance of Mario Bokodori Kudde (Bokodori is the name of his clan and means "tatu canastra"/ armadillo/; Kudde means "shout" (Sangradouro)

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23. Eastern Bororo: A smile by Mario Bokodori Kudde (Sangradouro)

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6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

on the São Lourenço River, and to photograph the events that followed a death that had just occurred there. This story gives only the highlights of these events—a complete report would require an entire monograph. 114

When a Bororo is gravely ill, without hope of recovery, his friends and relatives decorate him with feather ornaments and anoint his body with urucú, a brilliant red paint made from 763 [301] [302] [386]

[p. 40-C]

back to the village. Its claws and teeth are pried loose and made into ornaments to be kept as mementos by the close kin of the deceased. The hunter is rewarded with a necklace made of shells and nuts, an elaborately decorated bow, and arrows. The animal is skinned and the inner surface of the pelt is decorated with black paint specially prepared by the shaman. This is presented to the relatives of the deceased in a series of rituals that involve singing and dancing.

The night of the kill, one of the village leaders conducts a dance to the accompaniment of songs addressed to the spirit of the jaguar. With the jaguar hide on his shoulders, a chief or a shaman leads the ritual intended to appease the dead jaguar, while the people of the village dance. Men, women, and children all perform this very important ritual, which continues far into the night. At first many people

[text continues on p. 45-A]

[p. 44-B]

join in the dance, which consists of simple, rhythmical steps or hops. As the dancers become tired, they drop out of line one by one, and eventually the shaman may be left dancing alone.

IN preparation for the actual burial festivities, the Bororo ornament themselves elaborately and with meticulous care. They paint their faces and bodies with a variety of fantastic designs in different colors, and may plaster their hair with the red urucú paint. Some wear skirts, capes, and head wreaths made from palm leaves. Hair that was torn out in mourning is spun into cords that are braided and wound around the head in the fashion of a turban. Other striking decorations are chest ornaments made from the claws of the giant armadillo; bird beaks worn as pendants; necklaces of jaguar teeth; chaplets made of a beautiful local flower that resembles our morning glory; and enormous "sunburst crown" feather headdresses, which sometimes incorporate the tail feathers of as many as thirty macaws. These spectacular headdresses are highly prised by the Bororo, because macaws are now scarce in their forests. They will part with one to an outsider only in exchange for a gun.

One of the highlights of the Bororo funeral ceremony is the impersonation of mythical beasts by men dressed in various costumes and performing imitative dances. Two such creatures inspect the corpse about two weeks after its interment in the plaza. Disguised with leaves of the buriti palm, they circle the grave several times. Finally they stop and open it to check the state of the body's decomposition. Their decision is known in advance: the flesh has not yet decayed enough to be removed from the bones. The grave is closed, and the festivities continue.

ANOTHER mythical creature is represented by a man whose body is painted white with clay, and who wears feathers in his nose. This beast impersonator runs again and again around the spot where the corpse is buried, trying to call the dead person's soul out of the grave. During this performance, other men in the group shake split bamboo poles, producing a sharp clapping sound.

Still another beast impersonator emerges from behind the huts, and rushing across the plaza toward the grave, beats it with a long stick in a

[p. 45-A] [text continues on p. 45-C]

6:Kontk C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bacono SP8

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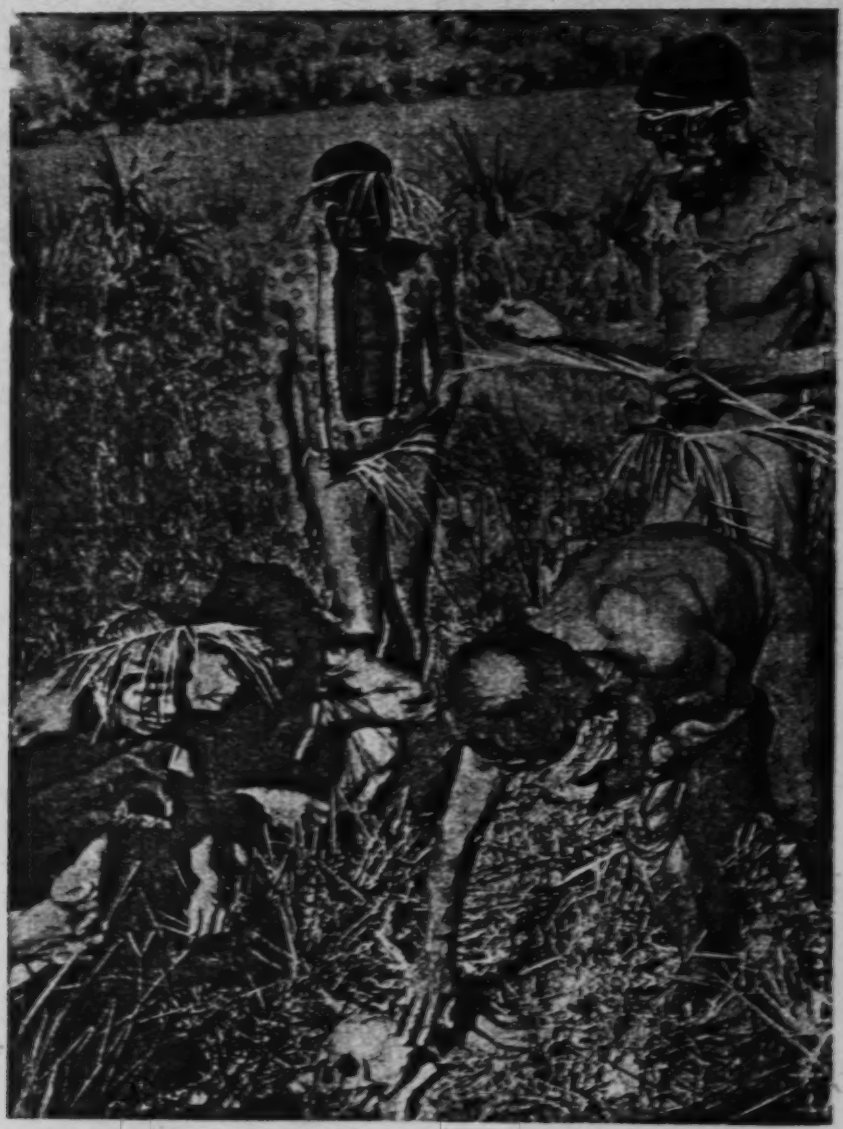

ONLY MEN take part in washing bones in swamp near village. Shaman touches skull in a kind of benediction before all bones are taken back to the plaza.

[p. 46-A]

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

SMITHSONIAN MISCELLANEOUS COLLECTIONS

[Facing p. 52]

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BORORO WOMAN ADORNED WITH FEATHERS

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BORORO METHOD OF CARRYING WITH HEAD STRAP

8:Cook • M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

226 The savages were surfeited with fish, for we saw heaps of ten
251 and twenty-pound specimens lying in their huts. This was
433 their season, not only of plenty, but of super-abundance; nevertheless, since they preserve nothing for the season of scarcity, their feast was likely to be followed by a partial famine. It was a great treat to us to have an abundance of fresh, succulent fish for supper and breakfast.

123 A little girl of the village, having been ill of fever for some weeks, her father begged my companion, when we arrived, to request me to give her some medicine, for they thought me a conjurer. Calling her to me, I put a quinine tablet into her mouth and gave her a draught of pure coffee.
593 She took the medicine readily because her father had commanded her to take it. Usually, these people will not eat anything we offer them until they have first seen us eat a portion of it. They fear it may be either poisoned or bewitched. I gave the child a second dose the following morning. This broke up the fever, for I heard some weeks afterward that she was well again and growing fleshy. Doubtless the savages now consider me a great medicine man. The
302 child in question was loved and esteemed by her parents, in
593 proof of which they had daubed her little body with gum
301 from the waist up, then stuck on a coat of white feathers; and finally, having rubbed a mass of red, putty-like gum into her front hair, they plaited over this a solid layer of brilliant crimson feathers plucked from the breast of the macaw.

000 As we journeyed the next day, skirting the Rio Vermelho, we met with an accident that seriously affected our food supply. One of our mules that was conveying two small bags of sugar, got too far in advance with some loose horses, and plunged with them into a stream that was usually dry, but which was now a raging torrent because of the recent rains. All were swept away down stream, but the horses succeeded in scrambling out, despite the network of vegetation that covered the bank down into the water. But the mule, because of its burden, could not get out, and was carried down stream. Our muleteers rushed up, and slipping instantly out

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

family came to us often, saying "*Nagareda by—tapira.*" (My child die. I would like a piece of beef.) Sometimes he begged for other things, saying, for example, "My child die; I would like a handkerchief, red." 123 764

The smart young men of the tribe, who, like their civilized brothers, are fond of dress and display, wear suspended from a hole in the lower lip, a chain of bright shells six inches long, terminating in a brilliant crimson feather. But the older men, who no longer care for fashion and show, discard this ornament and wear only a wooden plug in the hole, as they are unable to drink when it is open, it being very large. 301 [304]

The young women, and girls over six years of age, wear a kind of corset made of the inner bark of a tree. It looks much like the sides of a cheese box, is twelve inches broad, hard and stiff. It must be very uncomfortable when first worn. In addition to this primitive corset, the females wear a long strip of soft inner bark eight inches broad and resembling brown canvas, which is specially prepared. It is passed between the legs, and each end, at the back and in front, is tucked in between the upper edge of the corset and the body. It is made of the same kind of bark as that used by the Karayá, but does not drop down in front, apron-fashion, as with the Karayá. Adorned with these articles, the females consider themselves fully and decently dressed, and would not think of appearing in public without them. 291 289 [171]

Crescents, evidently in veneration of the moon, are worn constantly by both sexes, suspended from the neck; also rows, six or eight inches long, of monkey, tiger or wolverine teeth. They seemed to prize these decorations very highly, and were always loathe to part with them. The huge horn claws of the *tatú canástro*, the giant armadillo, are also much valued, and worn hanging from the neck. 301 237

Many of the men wear, wound around the head, a rope ten or fifteen yards long, made by braiding together human hair which was cut off or jerked out during funeral ceremonies. The men also tied the bright-colored handkerchief, obtained 301 [283] [764]

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

301 from us, around their heads; while the boys tied them around their loins, allowing the flap to drop behind.

302 It is chiefly the young men that besmear themselves from head to foot with the yellowish-red grease, or paint, until they glisten in the sunshine, and also mass a red, putty-like material into their hair. Both sexes allow their coarse, black, horse-tail like hair to grow long and drop down in an ugly, tangled mass over their shoulders, except in front, where it is cut off, like "bangs." The young men also paint a black crescent over the forehead from cheek to cheek, or a complete circle, passing over the upper lip; and glue bright feather epaulets on their shoulders. The men pull out every hair [304] of their sparse beards and also of their eyebrows, which gives them a peculiar look; and occasionally pierce the nose and ears as well as the lower lip.

142 The Bororó are large, stoutly-built, powerful men. I do not remember having seen one less than five feet eight inches tall.

554 Social grades exist among these children of the forest just as among higher races, though much less complex and not so distinctly marked. They have, in a small, crude way, an "upper ten" and a "lower ten" thousand; "high caste" people and "outcasts"; "dudes," "belles," and "back numbers;" "big men," "first families," and "the masses."

301 177 We could not but be highly amused at times because of the astonishing habiliments in which these big, overgrown children occasionally appeared. Any garment secured from us was always regarded purely as an ornament, and not in any sense as a necessary article of covering, unless to protect themselves at times from the cold, or from insects. Neither did they have any knowledge of the civilized world's mandates as to the manner in which these articles should be worn. One day, my companion gave a pair of white drawers and a white vest to a dignified old captain who already possessed a black shirt and hat. Shortly thereafter, he appeared wearing all these articles as a morning dress, and these *only*. In the afternoon, he visited us again, wearing the vest and hat, *only*, as

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

an evening dress. Some days afterward, another sedate captain appeared at our hut gravely wearing my companion's riding boots, a cutaway coat and a hat, *only*. Again, a big, burly savage would be seen arrayed only in a garment which was once a white shirt, and a hat; or, finally, wearing nothing but a hat. The hat, too, is only an ornament, as custom among these primitive people does not require its use.

To give them in exchange for articles of their manufacture, and for food, I had brought a number of knives of various sizes, a quantity of bright-colored cloth, beads, and fishhooks of different sizes, but no axes, because of their weight. The Bororó, like all primitive peoples, are fond of bright colors, of which scarlet is much the most admired. They dislike black, for it is the emblem of mourning to them. Whenever they brought anything to me for exchange, they placed it upon the table, then withdrew to the background as if they purposed to give it to me, gratis. But knowing their ways, we would ask them what they wished in exchange, and they would point to the article desired. As their standard of values was far different from mine, I sometimes found that they asked much less for their products than they should receive, in which case I usually added an article or two. At other times, they demanded articles in exchange that would have made the object they brought me very costly. But we usually sent them away satisfied.

One day, five splendid warriors came to visit us from a distant village called the Kogi au Páro, bringing with them beautifully ornamented bows and arrows, having heard that we were giving knives and other useful articles in exchange for their products. They filed, cat-like, into our hut with solemn and dignified mien, and "laid down their arms" upon our table, then modestly withdrew to the rear of the primitive company that surrounded us. My companion, Senhor Antonio, then said to the first man, "*Caiba?*"—what do you wish? "Axe," he replied, making us understand by a mixture of native and Portuguese words and by signs, as did they all; in fact, they communicated with us more by means of

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

660 food largely, or wholly, from uncultivated, unsubdued Nature, consuming much of it in a raw state; and instead of mastering Nature, Nature crushes him. Again, like the brutes, he scours forest and field to satisfy only for to-day the hunger of himself and his little brood, with no thought for to-morrow; and having secured an abundance of game, he eats enormously, then lies down contentedly to sleep, and rises up to play, until hunger again drives him forth in search of prey. Once more like his irrational neighbors, the object of his existence, apparently, is not to possess houses and lands and goods, but simply to have a mate, food for the moment, and to pass his days in childish amusements. When the sun is hot, he sleeps, or instinctively seeks the water that he may play in it and cool himself; when night comes, he arouses himself and sings his *bakororó* in common with all the frogs and toads, and other creatures. Lastly, like the wild animals, he is clothed only as Nature clothes him.

462 Imitating Nature, the social economy of these primitive people is, in important respects, the reverse of Christian civilization. Like irrational nature, the female is the principal, or most responsible food provider for the little family, or brood—not the male. Again, like the female in Nature, and unlike [301] Christian civilization, the female does not adorn herself, nor sing or play; while the male, on the other hand, peacock-like, decorating his person, makes himself gorgeous and struts about in a lordly manner; and besides, like the male in Nature, produces all the music. Once more, the female performs all the heavy work and the drudgery, and is the servant and slave of her mate, while the light and fancy work, including ornament making, is done by the male. Woman in all ages and lands from the dawn of time, has occupied herself exclusively in the pursuits of peace. More gentle, affectionate and domestic in her nature than the man, she has remained by the fireside collecting and preparing fruit and vegetable foods without destroying life, making pots and pans and other necessary household utensils, preparing implements of husbandry and tilling the soil, loving peace, and reproducing and nourishing

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

order to maintain his prestige and reputation. He informs the anxious and waiting family of the number of days their loved one has to live by touching that number of fingers on his uplifted hand, and each time he touches a finger, repeating the word, "*meri, meri, meri, meri, meri, by,*"—sun, sun, sun, sun, sun, die,—meaning that the patient will see five suns—five days—then die. Or, the conjurer may say, "*nodua, nodua, nodua, nodua, nodua, by,*"—sleep, sleep, sleep, sleep, sleep, die,—meaning that the sick one will sleep, or pass five more nights, then die. If, at the end of this time, he still lives, the executioner, sent of course by the sorcerer, will suddenly enter his hut, sit astride of him on his stomach, and strangle him until he is dead. The grief-stricken family may stand about moaning and crying, but will offer no resistance.

When a Bororó has been summoned from his earthly *bai*—naturally or otherwise—to wander with the demons in their world of sadness and gloom, whether the event occur at meridian or at midnight, the body is immediately rolled up in the palm-leaf mat which has served as a bed during life, and borne to the great hut where the elaborate funeral ceremonies, or *bakororó*, are at once inaugurated. At the head of the corpse stands a quartette of big, burly and entirely nude savages, of terrible visages, having their bodies besmeared from head to foot with black slush, their heads decorated with large fans of brilliant feathers representing the rising or setting sun, and holding in their hands gourd-shell rattles larger than a quart measure. These lead the medley of uncouth, blood-curdling noises, uttering constantly a loud, deep, prolonged, growling, roaring, bellowing, diabolical moan,—hee-aw-aw-aw-aw-aw-oo-oo-oo-oo-oo-oo ah-ah-ah-ah-ah-ah, squatting slightly with each wail of woe, and shaking the huge rattles held in each hand. Behind these four "children of the sun," stands a group of female savages, who howl and wail, mutter, moan and shriek an accompaniment, meanwhile not forgetting to fan off the flies that light on the bodies of the male quartette in front of them. The remaining inhabitants of the village, except the family of the deceased, group themselves on both sides of the

2: Steinen--i E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Bororo SP8

Pl. I

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Bororó chief.

/454 cont./ Caldas, who, to his sorrow, saw that his
578 tent-mate who was also taking part had her breast scratched, forced the
[529] great chief /455/ Moguyokuri in; with tremendous calm the latter stepped into the noisy crowd and suddenly it was quiet. There was not a sound; his mighty arm shoved aside the three most dangerous women at once. Maria had definitely lost; she did not say a word and stood scowling, arms crossed, her bosom heaving violently, while a friend on her side smoothed her tousled hair. More disgruntled ones tried to unleash the storm once again, but the laughter of Corona won out;

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Fig. 127. Bororó woman.

578 they dispersed, and the shrill old woman, at a triumphant trot, was led off by three women.

519 Shaking our heads, we turned our steps homeward toward our shack, but there, too, we were driven back by an infernal noise. The soldiers were dancing and singing in the moonlight with their mulattoes and Indian women; they were making music with harmonica, with fork and plate -- carnival everywhere!

[526] I went back to the men's house; two men were practicing wrestling. They grasped each other under the arms, bending far forward, and remained in this position for a long time, until one of them suddenly tried one leg, or rather his heel, to press in the knee-hollow of the other one and knock him over, but he was lifted up and lost.

/462 cont./

115 [123] [145] School. Let us now pause at a peaceful scene. The Bororó boys were my special friends. From them I learned the most important elements of the language; they were extremely wide awake, pert, somewhat like little Niggerboys /given in English/, and in physical and mental agility decidedly ahead of our civilized European youth. They were extraordinarily pleased with their teacher-role and were constantly urging me to write things down: "poyédye papéra," roughly "again on the paper."

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Fig. 128. Bororó youths.

115 [193] I am indebted to them in particular for /463/ a knowledge of the pronominal prefixes for the body parts, which are different for each person, and soon their favorite sport was to declaim in their language, "my nose, your nose, his nose, our nose, your nose, their nose" in all sorts of variations. The little 115 153 scamp in the center in Figure 128 was especially intelligent. He was always hearing Bororó in our German. If the expression "papageienmässig" /Ger., "parrot-like"/ was used, there immediately came the exclamation: "papagaíma" = "we are bathing." One evening when Ehrenreich was addressing the moon in the words of Doctor Faust and came to the passage,

2: Steinen--588 E1 D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Bororo SP8

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Bororó with feathers pasted on.

2: Steinen--589 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Bororo SP8

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Fig. 129. Mother and daughter. Bororó.

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/474 cont./

291 exaggerated. According to Langsdorff's description, however, the belt seems to be the main thing, since strands hung down freely and there was no band to be fastened to it. The observer himself does not believe that its purpose was concealment. There was very little of this likewise among our Bororó women, and, as far as their modesty is concerned, it remained not only partly, but entirely concealed, or more accurately, the very opposite of it was present and, quite apart from the dissoluteness of the Brazilian civilizers, was present in large measure to begin with. All things considered, I regard it as not impossible that the wide [482] belt of bark or tapir skin originally had a different purpose. The women carried home from the forest back-baskets so heavily loaded with palm nuts that they seemed almost to collapse under the load and were unable to walk, but only to trip along; moreover, the end of the back-basket rested in the small of the back on the strip of belt and the latter protected the skin here just as the bast ring protected the shoulders of the Kulisehu Indians in the transport of canoes. A piece of tapir skin, especially, must have served excellently as padding. Meanwhile, however, it had turned into a pretentious, tightly clasped armor.

304 [852] The ear lobes were pierced in the case of both sexes, but among the boys this was done by the father at the age of eight to ten years when they were beginning to practice hunting skills seriously and among the girls, as we shall see, it was done with an entirely different meaning by their future husbands.

[619] The pierced lower lip was the tribal mark of the men. I have told how our Antonio, whom a woman claimed as her stolen /475/ son, was examined for this. 301 Waehneldt says of the Bororó of the Jaurú that some of them also wear a sort of "toothpick" /Figs. 130-132 appear here/ in the nasal septum; an ornament of pieces of wood was found in the pierced lower lip on a number of them. In their everyday life our Bororó never wore anything at all in the hole of the lower lip. Only boys, cf. Fig. 128 /see p. 571/, were in the habit of using small sticks which kept the hole open; one saw bone splinters, for example, from the cayman, occasionally a nail, and sticks of resin with a little button at the end inside the mouth. Adults, for festive ornamentation, wore sticks of the

/475 cont./

301 same kind, cf. Plate 27 /see p. 588/, or the lip chain, cf. Plate 1 /see p. i/ and Figure 130. The chain consisted of half a dozen small elongated shell plates hanging on one another, with a small string tassel at the lower end, and was 12 centimeters long.

304 852 The lip hole was pierced for the baby by the medicine man shortly after its birth. The instrument used for the operation, baragára, was a feather rod ending in a bone point, cf. Fig. 131 which was very showy and was worn in the hair as an ornament on festive occasions: the rod on which the bone was fastened with resin had alternate red and orange-colored little feathers densely pasted over it, with fine white down also in between now and then, and terminated at the upper end in a long blue arara feather, while at the point of attachment a bunch of striped falcon, parrot, and arara feathers hung down, about one meter long

[301] →

Fig. 130. Lip chain. Bororó. (2/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 131. Lip piercer. Bororó. (1/7 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

from tip to tip. The medicine man with the baragára in his hand danced in front of the baby, singing and stepping up to it and back, and on one of these rounds he pierced the lip.

Fig. 132. Scratching bone. Bororó. (2/7 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

/475 cont./

304 Tattooing was unknown; scars of cuts, casually colored, were not unusual. We did not see instruments analogous to the scarifier of the Kulisehu Indians. The skin was not torn for medical purposes, but simply scratched, as everybody does, if it /476/ itched, and there was even a special implement for scratching the back, 21 centimeters long, a bone which was adorned with ostrich feathers, cf. Fig. 132 /see p. 591/, and was also used to advantage by the freely perspiring festival dancers. Scars of cuts were the result of the death ceremonies.

301 Painting and feather ornamentation played a role, the former an insignificant one, the latter a tremendously important one. Waehneldt, not without justification, speaks of the "almost daily festivals" of the Bororó. The remark was also perfectly applicable to our Indians, and, to be sure, simply because even every hunt was begun with dance and song. Then the girl dragged into the men's house was most carefully painted by her friends. Finally, gluing feathers on oneself was a "medicine" practiced day after day. Intermittent fever often occurred in the colony, children were always doéte /sick/ (Portuguese doente), and thus it was simply impossible for us to see where the boundary lay between medicine and ornamentation. The painful parts of the body were smeared with heated almeisca resin and had down feathers thickly pasted over them. We saw children who had complete sleeves of small white duck-feathers. The color resin was black. In order to paste feathers on the face, a finger-wide adhesive strip was put on along the hair line and the ends bound beside the ears, sometimes with a cross-strip running between nose and lips so that, if the strip were wide and nothing was glued on it, one seemed to see a half-mask cut out to make a frame. The gum-frame originally designed for feathers was also used without glued-on feathers.

Plate 27 /see p. 588/ shows us a Bororó festively pasted with feathers. The arms are entirely covered with small green parrot-feathers, as is the adjoining part of the chest; above the navel there is a small strip of feathers, and on the back, I may add, a part of the shoulders and an area the width of a hand in the small of the back were pasted over. The black gum-frame on the face

/476 cont./
has already lost some of its initial beauty and feathering; a cross-strip glued with pure white feathers extends from ear to ear, like a huge moustache. The hair is smeared with urucú, and the front edge has red arara feathers thickly glued to it; red-smeared tufts stand out on both sides. The upper part of the head, around the tonsure, is adorned with a small red crown of arara feathers, and scattered around it, a handful of small feathers is only loosely pasted on. In the case of women who were ill we not infrequently saw small areas with feathers pasted on them; Maria appeared one day, complaining of fever, and was being more energetically treated with this remedy, for she had it applied to hair, face, and chest. The wife of a hunter who was returning after a long absence had had her face and hair painted like the ranchão girls for the welcome, and the skin of her upper body transformed into a feather jacket open at the front. The skull of the skeletonized deceased has feathers pasted on it, similar to the ornamentation of the Bororó on Plate 27, before the final burial, whereas the rest of the /477/ bones are smeared with urucú oil. I am unable to say whether in this adornment the desperate unlikely hope of a favorable medical result was a contributing factor.

The daily daubing with oily soot and urucú, as on the Schingú /Xingu/, did not occur. Also, the dyestuffs are not used for any implement other than the whizzer sticks; instead of them, one saw feathers on bodies as well as on implements everywhere on the S. Lourenço. Also missing, however, was the plague of mosquitoes and biting flies; the only insects we saw or heard in the colony were the countless crickets rustling in the maize supply. The urucú, of which there was only very little, was mixed with fish oil. They used it only in the most sparing amounts, just as the painting with black on the gum-frame and the blackening of the face and body with soot when one set out against the Kayapó were limited. The ranchão girl was painted with urucú for the night; she sat on a red coverlet, and beside her lay a shell with fish oil and a piece of urucú paste. The hair was thickly smeared, the upper body was also given a daubing, but the chief thing, on which a great deal of time was spent,

/477 cont./

302 was the painting of the face with a stalk or a slender bamboo stick. Thus, the forehead was not painted with one stroke, but rather the stick, saturated with color, was put on and squeezed off, a stripe gradually being laid across the forehead with this procedure. The lids were also colored, the upper lid well into the fold. Triangles were painted on the cheeks. I shall come back later to the meaning of the cross-stripe and the triangles, cf. under "Art of Drawing" /see p. 625/, after a discussion of the whizzer sticks, where I shall have an opportunity to speak of designs separately.

237 301 Ornamental feather-work, as I should like to call it in contrast to the pasting on of feathers, was furnished in the most magnificent fashion. The chief products of the hunters' art are to be found on Plate I /see p. i/ combined in the case of the chief in gala dress.

The parîko, cf. Fig. 133 /see p. 596/, an enormous radial wheel of blue arara tail-feathers, yellow on the reverse side, rises up on the fore part of the head and tilts forward. The arara feathers, 45 centimeters long, are stuck into a wound bundle of stalks that fits the head and is tied on with a string; the lower fourth of the long feathers is covered with several rows of small red and green parrot-feathers. A small diadem, cf. Plate I, is pulled down over the forehead. On the back of the head, tilted backwards and more arched than the parîko, there projects a diadem equal to it in size and made out of cross-banded falcon feathers, the kurugúgua. From the ears down to the chest hang colorful lappets of small red and yellow feathers, prettily arranged in cross-strips, from the breast of the toucan. (The large beaks of the toucans are also worn.) Bunches of wing feathers from the arara, the parrots, and other ornamental birds hang down from the upper arms, as well as from the bow or from the lip-piercer.

/478/ There are all kinds of other feather ornaments. Special consideration is to be given to the very beautiful nabuleága (nabûre, arara), arara feathers with flowing ostrich feathers and white tufts of down, joined together on a small rod that is stuck into the hole

/478 cont./

237 301 of the ear lobe or into the hair, 56 centimeters long; cf. Fig. 134 /see p. 597/. In like manner, a frame of little rods, marobóĺro, egg-shaped like the rattle-gourd, was stuck in the hair; the frame had white down glued over it and a red arara tail feather fastened on the top. Finally, the feather-decorated chignons of the Bororó men should be mentioned.

Fig. 133. Parĺko feather-diadem. Bororó. (1/9 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

The knot of hair was wound with a feather wreath or densely studded with feathers projecting in rays; see Plate 29 /see p. 633/, the Bororó in the foreground.

/478 cont./

239
301 Teeth were primarily worked into chest ornaments; the most popular ones were large jaguar teeth, usually two pairs plaited together, and small monkey teeth, several transverse rows of which were joined into a piece up to 30 centimeters wide /479/ extending almost across the entire chest; cf. Plate I /see p. i/ and Fig. 129 /see p. 589/. It was extremely seldom that women were also given these ornaments and, since it is usually reported of the other Bororó that only the men adorned themselves, is probably to be traced back to the upheaval caused by the colonization. It was characteristic that the Indian-thinking and Portuguese-speaking Clemente called the teeth plaited together rosarios, rosaries; in connection with this ornament, the Indians had the idea that it makes one strong and agile. They also extracted teeth from Brazilian prisoners and hung these around themselves; lower jaws of the enemy were worn in the same way. They also promised themselves protection from hair of the dead, which was spun into thread and then plaited into cords which were very difficult to obtain; bunches of hair hung down, along with the feathers, from the arm bands.

Fig. 134. Arara ear-feather. Bororó. (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 135. Chest ornament of armadillo claws. Bororó. (1/3 nat. size/ as shown in the original illustration/.)

/479 cont./

237 301 Claws, small ones from rodents and large ones from armadillos, were put together by twos and thus formed the shape of a half-moon; in the center, where they were joined and covered with resin, hung a bunch of strings, while a few shell ringlets were pressed into the resin.

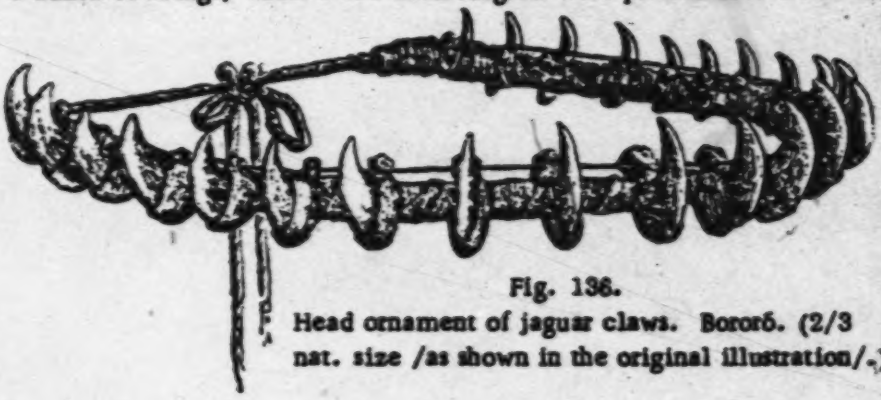

Fig. 136.
Head ornament of jaguar claws. Bororó. (2/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

[171] We found the claws of the giant armadillo on the Kulisehu in a very similar arrangement, not as an ornament, but as a tool /Fig. 135 ap-
[177] pears here; see Fig. 25, page 205. The Bororó imitated the claw ornament by cutting pieces of the same shape and size out of the tin of Brazilian tin cans. The process was very interesting because nothing about the tin half-moons betrayed their origin from two claws, and they were even declared to be proof of the "moon worship" of the Bororó by a Cuyabaní, as I discovered to my delight. See Fig. 135 /sic; probably Fig. 129, p. 589, is meant/, the ear ornament of the mother. This was the way the Indians were already working metal. Lip pegs were also cut out of tin.

[171] Jaguar claws were joined together into a head hoop, see Fig. 136, an ornament very similar to the Aueto chief's neck-chain of the same material in Fig. 5, page 90.

/480/ There were chains made of shell- and nut-beads, small pieces of bone, and pierced seed kernels, but they were far less important than on the Schingú. Beads made out of the armadillo carapace were most highly prized. I shall give more details about this in my description of the activity in the men's house. In that connection I shall also discuss the ornamental strings for both sexes, which we called "suspenders."

/487 cont./

321 by breaking up a shell and /488/ polishing the edges of the pieces on stone. In this way they bored through teeth and squeezed those that were small in an oaussú nut, several beside one another, so that they would not slip. Also peculiar was their method of making beads out of the carapace of the armadillo. It represents an arched shield made up of numerous small polygons; on the inner side of each polygon there is a natural pin-point depression: the twirl-borer was placed in this, and only after the entire shield was thus evenly perforated like a sieve, was it broken up into the individual small plates, which were strung in a row and polished round.

285 [765] → [142] [301] [302] ←

Fig. 141. Bororó woman with breast strings and arm bands.

Basket-bags into which the bones were packed at the ceremony for the dead, square fire-fans which were also used as plates or were tied on a handle like small flags in order to be used to ward off mosquitoes, and the large sleeping mats made of the oaussú palm leaf (two meters long, 90 centi-[462] meters wide) were plaited. The pouch-shaped carrying baskets apparently were plaited by the women.

283 [462] The men spun. The men's house a spinning room! I confess it gave me an adventurous feeling when I saw for the first time one of these hunters loosening flocks of cotton by jerking them on a bowstring. They spun cotton and the hair of their dead, but in a manner different from that of the women on the Kulisehu. The spindle whorl, four to four and a half centimeters in diameter, was a disk of shell or clay and sat on the upper fourth of the little stick stuck through it. While the left hand held the drawn-out

/488 cont./

283 flock or a few hairs placed together and had fastened them to the short end of the stick, the larger part of the little stick, below the whorl, would be rolled on the right thigh with the right hand, the spindle being held slantwise; thus, the thread was formed on the shorter part of the stick above the whorl. The finished thread was wound on the long part below the whorl.

The hair-threads were plaited into a cord which was worn around the head hair, around the waist, or, for protection against the snapping of the bowstring, around the wrist. Palm fiber cord was twisted by hand on the thigh. The great toe was often used in string work.

[286] Actual weaving, that is to say, the interlacing of threads crossing at right angles, was unknown. The men made narrow
[301] bands out of cotton threads, /489/ into which porcupine quills were plaited and which were worn like suspenders, cf. Figs. 141 /see p. 610/ and 129 /see p. 589/, as chest strings by both sexes, as well as arm bands by artfully interlacing threads between two thin rods.

461 How elegantly and neatly the men worked was particularly striking in the making of arrows. There were so many small dexterous movements which one would have expected only from the delicate hands of women. Among these I include particularly the decoration with tiny colored feathers, each of which was placed on the ground one by one and carefully arranged.

Nor can there be more chatter and laughter in a spinning room than there was here in the baitó. True, it was not very womanly when suddenly, for the sake of variety, two of the workers got up and staged a regular wrestling match which was watched with great interest by the others. They stood up, wrestled, threw each other, and resumed their work or lay down again for
517 dolce far niente. For comfortable idlers were never lacking;
[832] and there was also seldom lacking, though the women otherwise stayed away, a loving couple who lay under a common red coverlet and dallied. No one paid any attention to them except a few friends troubled by mild jealousy, who at the moment were being neglected by the common lover and had to be content to sit beside the pair and chat with them.

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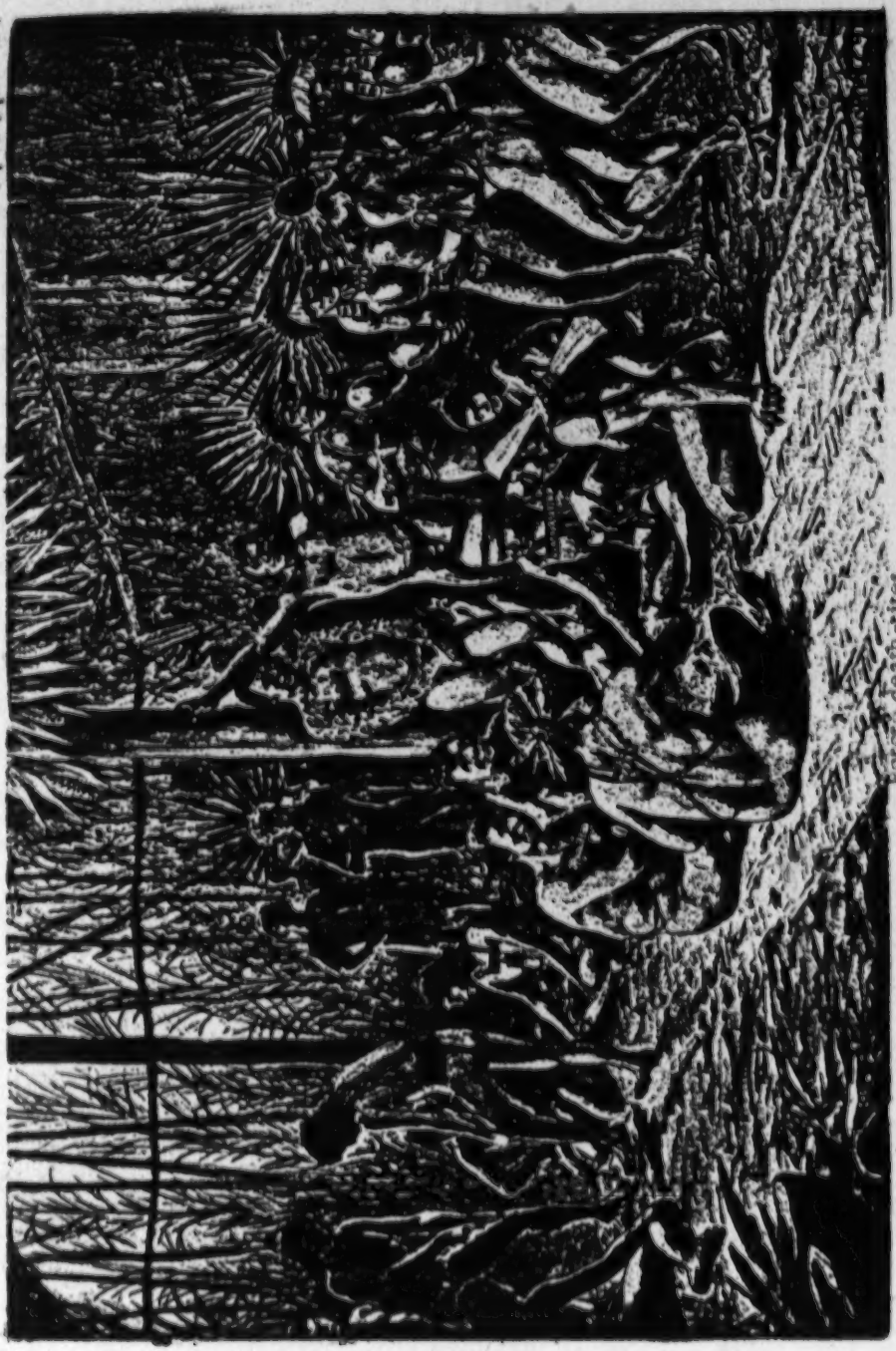

Bororo death-rites.

/505 cont./

765 cleaned the skeletons with sharp stones and transferred them to
171 the baskets. A number of dead were already buried in urns with handles.

764 We were present at two ceremonies for the dead on the S.
[123] Lourenço: the first was in progress at our arrival; we saw the second, which I should like to describe, from beginning to end.

The first burial takes place on the second or third day, when decomposition excludes any doubt about the death. The corpse
765 is buried near the water in the forest, and, after about 14 days, the flesh is removed and the principal ceremony is arranged, the purpose of which is the ornamentation and packing of the skeleton.
[533] In the meantime communication with the deceased is maintained, during the day as well as, and principally, during the night, by means of songs of lamentation in the ranchão, which in our case (cf. page 565) could be kept on a smaller scale, since it was only a woman, the wife of "Coconut-palm."

The principal ceremony took place on Easter Sunday. On the day before, Hallelujah Saturday, after Judas had been disposed of, there were busy preparations in the ranchão: whizzer sticks were planed and painted, the ornamentation repaired, in between in one corner there was a little desultory rattling and singing by a bari in the feather finery of the parîko. The widower,
[768] Coqueiro, in his hut made cuts in his arms and legs, which became covered with crusts of clotted blood, and late in the afternoon there took place the ceremonious destruction of the belongings of the deceased, or, more correctly, the belongings of her immediate family who had lived in a hut with her -- a procedure with very interesting pantomime, which merits more detailed description.

[302] Several Bororô appeared behind the men's house in full gala
[301] array, hair and body painted with urucú, the forehead framed by the black gum-strip, the festive cuff with the painted flag in place, the arms and hair with green parrot feathers pasted on them, and on their heads two parîkos and baragaras, the feather wheels and the feather-decorated lip-piercers. While two of them sat down on a mat and rattled, Coqueiro himself took fresh green /506/ bunches of leaves, tied them together at the stems

/507 cont./

765 In the morning, led by Moguyokuri, a long procession entered the ranchão, all with green twigs in their hands; in the center, the brother of the deceased with the square basket-bag containing the skeleton parts, which had been dug out and cleaned early in the morning. The basket was placed on a mat; four men took out the skull and the lower jaw, which looked smooth and white like the most beautiful specimens, and set about decorating them as well as a new basket-bag with feathers.
[302] Moguyokuri sat on a jaguar skin in gala array, skin and hair
[301] painted red, an akurí palm branch wrapped around his hips, dark-blue mutung feathers glued on his shoulders, the yellowish red lappets of toucan feathers hanging down from his ears, the most beautiful parîko on his head, the shell chain in the hole of his lower lip. Beside him stood four medicine men
[756] adorned with parîkos, who busily shook the rattle-gourds and, rhythmically stamping, jumped up and down, their eyes closed. The entire ranchão was filled with people, chiefly women and children; they joined in the singing and clapped their hands rhythmically. Several of the women stepped up to the bone-basket and laid their hands on it. The oldest woman scratched
[785] her arms with broken glass in quick, sharp cuts; the blood dripped on the hands of the others and colored the palm straw of the basket-bag.

[302] The young men in the center first had their lower jaws
[301] painted with urucú and covered with white down feathers. Be-
[237] side them on the mat they had urucú pigment in an armadillo shell, a little pot containing fish oil, a shell with gum-resin, a mat with little loose white feathers, and a /508/ large bowl filled with little purple feathers. They painted the new basket generously inside and out with urucú, and, while some of them glued feathers on the basket, the others devoted themselves to the skull, into which they set the lower jaw and on which they most carefully pasted the small purple feathers, starting at the back of the skull. Each feather was brushed on the end with a resin stick and set on individually.

301 [237] The principal ornaments used by men consisted of beautifully made feather ear pendants (*imitíta*) about 6 inches long, jaguar-teeth necklaces (*okopó*), necklaces made from human hair (*pasoó*), and cotton arm bands worn above the biceps. A short bamboo lip plug was worn in the lower lip. A crude comb, *putúku*, was made by binding together with human hair four siriva wood spikes about 5 inches in length. During dances the men fastened 534 rattles made from tapir and peccary hoofs to their ankles. Women wore feather ear pendants and "store"-bead necklaces. Some of these ornaments are still worn by the old men.

ECONOMICS

AGRICULTURE

241 The traditional food crops of the Umotina included such plants as bitter manioc (*otuíyo*), sweet manioc (*otuíyo biberóno*), maize (*omatáka*), black and red beans (*dumatáka*), sweetpotatoes (*balarkápo*), and cará (*tapatáku*). In addition, they cultivated gourds (*podrí*), cotton (*akyámani*), [276] and urucú (*nodókakíriba*). Tobacco was not grown, as the Umotina did not smoke in the past.
222 The food supply was further augmented by the collection of a wide variety of roots, nuts, and fruits, including the piqui (*heír*), mangaba (*botorákwa*), and the "marmelo" (quince, *hazkorákwa*).
237 Honey (*peíru*), was considered a delicacy and collected particularly before ceremonies.

241 Fields were cleared in the forest, but instead of felling the large trees, the branches were trimmed off in order to let in the sunlight. The undergrowth was beaten down with a wooden sword club (*ántho*) made from the wood of the siriva palm. In September the dry cut-over was burnt, and with the use of only a digging stick (*tápu*), the planting began. Maize was planted first; three or four seeds were put into a hole about 6 inches deep in order to protect them from birds. Manioc was planted by putting two pieces of stalk into a hole prepared with a digging stick. The field was weeded about a month later, after which the

[p. 106 (c)]

224 Men hunted all the local game singly or in groups,
[231] but in former times did not use dogs.

Women make pots (*porikupú*) of various sizes,
462 all shaped like half of an egg shell. Both men
[323] and women make baskets of two types. One,
[285] shaped like the pots, called *kothodókwa*, is an openwork burden basket about 24 inches high and 16 inches across at the top and is made from aguasu palm leaves. The other, which is in fact a bag, is made from the cortex of buriti palm fronds. This bag (*yathabóko*) is used for storing
[286] feathers, twine, and ornaments. Men weave the sleeping mats from the same material used for
[283] making the burden baskets. Women spin cotton, using the spindle (*hdlaka*) spun on the ground. Cotton materials are woven by women on an upright loom (*ipokopa*).

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

622 In the past the chief (*kutorikóna*) was not only
721 an economic and ceremonial leader but a war leader as well. Although the son of the chief had
[623] a right to succeed his father, the actual decision was made by all the men in council. The Umotina say that they used to fight with a tribe called Abusé that lived to the north of them and with white men. When the chief decided on a raid he blew his horn (*ipóna*) made from the shell of an
[714] armadillo. The men then made arrows and war clubs, and just before attacking they painted themselves black with genipapo and glued feathers on their temples. The Umotina used a shield made by stretching tapir skin on a square wooden frame, and they poisoned their arrows. When
727 attacking they killed the men but sometimes
[301] kept some of the younger women. They cut off the heads of their enemies and used the teeth to
[266] make necklaces. The heads of white men were boiled and eaten.

601 The kinship system of the Umotina is of the Hawaiian type. In the grandparents generation there are terms for grandfather (*ipokomiskóna*) and grandmother (*imakomiskóko*) which are extended to the siblings of the grandparents. In the parental generation there are just two terms, father (*ipóko*) the term being extended to cover father's brothers and mother's brothers, and the term mother (*imáko*) which is extended to cover mother's sisters and father's sisters. In ego's generation there are terms for brother (*amána*) and

787 The Umotina do not appear to have shamans.
756 Every man is believed able to call up any friendly
[534] ghost. He blows on an armadillo-shell horn and offers the ghost chicha. That night the man will meet the ghost in his dreams, who will then tell him what to do in order to cure himself or a sick relative.

LIFE CYCLE

843 A month or two before expecting a child a
846 woman eats only manioc products, maize, and honey; meat and fish being strictly avoided. These dietary restrictions continue for some months after the birth of the child. The husband, however, is free to eat what he wishes.

844 When a woman feels birth pains she goes into the woods accompanied by her mother or mother-in-law. Delivery is made in a kneeling position. The umbilical cord is tied with tucum twine and cut with a bamboo sliver, the placenta being buried. The midwife then carries the child and assists the mother back to the village. The child is taken near a fire, washed, and its arms and
[845] legs are "pressed into human shape." Twins are accepted. When the child is a day or two old,
[304] tucum nut washers are put on its ear lobes to pierce them. These thin perforated disks are the same in appearance as those used by the Nambi-
[553] cuara. The grandparents then give the child a
854 name. The child is carried on its mother's hip and is nursed for 2 or 3 years or until another
[847] child is born. The Umotina gave no information about using herbal medicines to induce abortion, nor did they mention anything about infanticide.
[862] The first foods a child eats consist of baked sweet-
[855] potatoes, broiled fish, and occasionally meat. Children sleep with their mothers until about 5 or 6 years of age.

881 When a girl reaches the age of puberty she paints
[301] herself with urucú and puts on a pair of feather
302] ear pendants to let the young men know that she has come of age. She is not secluded by her parents nor is a public ceremony held. When
[304] a boy reaches the age of 15 or 16, an old male relative pierces his lower lip with a bone awl.
[431] The family then invites the villagers to a feast. The visitors must bring arrows, which they present to the young man.

[p. 110(1)]

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[301]

[p. 136 (L)]